The Dissertation Committee for Edward Flavian Shore Certifies that this is the approved version of the following Dissertation:

Avengers of Zumbi: The Nature of Fugitive Slave Communities and their Descendants in Brazil

Committee:

Seth Garfield, Supervisor

Virginia Garrard

Minkah Makalani

Megan Raby

Sidney Chalhoub

Anadelia Romo

Avengers of Zumbi: The Nature of Fugitive Slave Communities and their Descendants in Brazil

by

Edward Flavian Shore

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Dedication

For my family and friends the world over who made this possible

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Abstract

Avengers of Zumbi: The Nature of Fugitive Slave Communities and their Descendants in Brazil

Edward Flavian Shore, Ph.D.

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Supervisor: Seth Garfield

In 1988, Brazil ratified Article 68, a constitutional provision that granted land rights to rural black communities descended from fugitive slaves known in Portuguese as "*quilombos*." This dissertation argues that Article 68 and its fitful enforcement reflect longstanding battles of the black peasantry over land, resources, and autonomy that originated under slavery and took new forms during the twentieth century. Focused on the Atlantic Forest of São Paulo state, this study draws from archival research and oral histories to reveal how rural Afro-Brazilian political mobilization is bound with past and present socio-spatial struggles. This political, cultural, and environmental history engages with the literature on critical geography to illuminate the racial dynamics of what is often referred to as the "environmentalism of the poor" in Brazil.

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Introduction

Scholars of slavery and race relations in Brazil and the Americas confront a historical enigma. The nation imported more than four million enslaved Africans over the course of more than three centuries, and was the last in the hemisphere, in 1888, to abolish slavery.[1] One century later, in 1988, Brazil became the first country in Latin America to grant land rights to the descendants of slaves.[2] My dissertation seeks to explain this dramatic transformation in the racial politics of Brazil, the nation with the largest Afro-descendant population in the Americas. More broadly, my research offers insights into how foundational nationalist ideologies in Brazil and Spanish America—whether the myth of racial democracy or *mestizaje* (racial mixture)—have splintered in recent decades as the region's nonwhite populations have pressed for greater legal protections and recognition of historical wrongs.[3]

I have entitled my dissertation "Avengers of Zumbi: The Nature of Fugitive Slave Communities and their Descendants in Brazil" in recognition of this historical reversal. Zumbi

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[1] Kátia Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 2.

[2] Jan Hoffman French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Juliet Hooker, "Indigenous Inclusion/Black Exclusion: Race, Ethnicity, and Multicultural Citizenship in Latin America," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 37 (2005); José Mauricio Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola* (São Paulo: Edusc, 2006); Elizabeth Farfán-Santos, *Black Bodies, Black Rights: The Politics of Quilombolismo in Brazil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016).

[3] Edward Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004); Marcelo Paixão, *500 Anos De Solidão: Ensaios Sobre as Desigualdades Raciais No Brasil* (Curitiba: Editora Appris, 2013); Stanley Bailey, *Legacies of Race: Identities, Attitudes, and Politics in Brazil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009). French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*; Jonathan Warren, *Racial Revolutions: Antiracism and Indian Resurgence in Brazil* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001). Karen Engel, *The Elusive Promise of Indigenous Development: Rights, Culture, Strategy* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010). For more about ideologies of *mestizaje* in Spanish America, see Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Alejandro De La Fuente, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Marixa Lasso, *Myths of Harmony: Race and Republicanism During the Age of Revolution, Colombia, 1795-1831* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007); Peter Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America* (London: Pluto Press, 2010). Jeffrey Gould, *To Die in This Way: Nicaraguan Indians and the Myth of Mestizaje, 1880-1965* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998); Greg Grandin, *The Blood of Guatemala: A History of Race and Nation* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000).

was a fugitive slave of Bantu descent and the last warrior-king of the Quilombo dos Palmares (1600-1695), Brazil's most famous runaway slave community.[4] Captured and beheaded by Portuguese soldiers in 1695, today Zumbi has a national holiday on November 20 in his name, Black Consciousness Day (*Dia da Consciência Negra*), and the communities he died to defend are now recognized by Brazilian law. How did this happen?

Changes in the law reflect broader transformations in Latin American society during the twentieth century.[5] Focusing on the *remanescentes de quilombos*, or the descendants of runaway slaves in Brazil, I argue that four factors have contributed to the emergence of race-based rights for Afro-descendants since the 1970s. First, black intellectuals and activists challenged the hegemonic political ideologies of racial democracy, or *democracia racial*, in Portuguese.[6] Second, Liberation Theology, an ecumenical movement that emerged during the 1960s that re-conceptualized the Christian faith from the perspective of the poor and the oppressed, played a decisive role in mobilizing marginalized peasant and non-white communities against the forces of capitalist development in the countryside.[7] Third, proponents of what came to be called

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[4] For the Quilombo dos Palmares, see Flávio dos Santos Gomes, *De Olho Em Zumbi Dos Palmares: Histórias, Símbolos E Memória Social* (São Paulo: Claro Enigma, 2011); Décio Freitas, *República De Palmares: Pesquisa, E Comentários Em Documentos Históricos Do Século Xvii* (Macéio: EDUFAL, 2004). Edison Carneiro, *O Quilombo Dos Palmares* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1966); Pedro Paulo Funari and Aline Vieira de Carvalho, "Palmares: A Rebel Polity through Archaeological Lenses," in *Freedom by a Thread: The History of Quilombos in Brazil*, ed. João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes (New York Diasporic Africa Press, 2016); Andressa Merces Barbosa dos Reis, "Zumbi: Historiografia E Imagens" (Universidade Estadual Paulista (UNESP), 2004); Ernesto Ennes, *As Guerras Nos Palmares* (São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1938); Sebastião da Rocha Pita, *História Da América Portuguesa* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1976).

[5] James Holston, *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Kathryn Hochstetler and Margaret Keck, *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007); Seth Garfield, *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil: State Policy, Frontier Expansion, and the Xavante Indians, 1937-1988* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001).

[6] Paulina L. Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Kim Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000); Francine Winddance Twine, *Racism in a Racial Democracy: The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997).

[7] Christian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Maria Aparecida Mendes Pinto, *Moab: A Saga De Um Povo* (Eldorado:

"alternative development" and "socio-environmentalism" challenged neoliberal models of development by championing constitutional rights to land, natural resources, and culture for so-called "traditional peoples."[8] Finally, I argue that we must consider the historical agency of rural black communities themselves. Their long histories of territorial mastery and claims-making explain their social reproduction and activism for land, social justice, and racial equality.[9]

1. The Historical Emergence of Article 68 and the Quilombo Movement in Brazil

Ratified on October 5, 1988, Article 68 is a constitutional provision that grants legal recognition and territorial rights to rural black communities descended from fugitive slaves known in Portuguese as *comunidades remanescentes de quilombos*.[10] In the countryside, Afro-Brazilian populations that long struggled for land as "peasants" (*campesinos*), sharecroppers (*meeiros*), "squatters" (*posseiros*), and "workers" (*trabalhadores*) today may obtain rights by

MOAB/EAACONE, 2014); Jan Hoffman French, "A Tale of Two Priests and Two Struggles: Liberation Theology from Dictatorship to Democracy in the Brazilian Northeast," *The Americas* 63, no. 3 (2007); Scott Mainwaring, *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil, 1916-1985* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986); John Burdick, *Legacies of Liberation: The Progressive Catholic Church in Brazil* (Burlington: Ashgate Press, 2004).

[8] Ulrich Oslender, *The Geographies of Social Movements* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2016); Engel, *The Elusive Promise of Indigenous Development: Rights, Culture, Strategy*; Charles Hale, "Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights, and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34 (2002); Joan Martínez Alier, *The Environmentalism of the Poor: A Study of Ecological Conflicts and Valuation* (Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2002); Antonio Carlos Diegues, *Etnoconservação: Novos Rumos Para a Conservação Da Natureza* (São Paulo: HUCITEC NUPAUB-USP, 2000); Manuela Carneiro Da Cunha, *Cultura Com Aspas E Outros Ensaios* (São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2009); Mary Allegretti, "Extractive Reserves: An Alternative for Reconciling Development and Environmental Conservation in Amazonia," in *Alternatives to Deforestation: Steps toward Sustainable Use of the Amazon Rain Forest*, ed. Anthony B. Anderson (New York: Columba University Press, 1990); Seth Garfield, *In Search of the Amazon: Brazil, the United States, and the Nature of a Region* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013).

[9] For "claims-making," see Sidney Chalhoub, "The Precariousness of Freedom in a Slave Society (Brazil in the Nineteenth Century)," *IRSH* 56 (2011); Alejandro De La Fuente, "Slave Law and Claims-Making in Cuba: The Tannenbaum Debate Revisited," *Law and History Review* 22, no. 2 (2004); Keila Grineberg, *O Fiador Dos Brasileiros: Cidadania, Escravidão, E Direito Civil No Temo De Antônio Pereira Rebouças* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira 2002); Joanne Rappaport, *Cumbe Reborn: An Andean Ethnography of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

[10] *Artigo 68*, Ato das Disposições Constitucionais Transitórias (October 5, 1988); Fundação Cultural Palmares, "Certidões Expedidas Às Comunidades Remanescentes De Quilombos (Crqs) Atualizada Até a Portaria No. 104/2016, Publicada No Dou De 20/05/2016," (2016).

asserting black identities.[11] Although 170 maroon descendant communities totaling 15,000 families have obtained collective land rights from the Brazilian government, more than 6,000 quilombos still await certification.[12]

I contend that Article 68 and its fitful enforcement should be understood as the outgrowth of historical struggles of the black peasantry over land, natural resources, and autonomy that originated under slavery and took new forms since the abolition of slavery in 1888. Colonial and nineteenth-century elites demonized quilombos not merely because they resisted slavery, but also because their territorial mastery challenged the plantation, mining, and ranching economies central to Brazil's cultural geography.[13] Similarly, post-emancipation communities residing in the endangered Atlantic Forest of São Paulo state, the primary focus of my study, confronted an onslaught of government-sponsored projects, including land colonization, cattle ranching, mining, state parks, and hydroelectric dams.[14]

Yet beginning in the 1970s, the descendants of quilombos gained the support of new allies, including the Liberationist Catholic Church, urban black activists, anthropologists, and environmentalists, who helped to reframe rural black communities' historical grievances in a language of human rights, reparations, and environmentalism.[15] Their affinity for *quilombolas* (residents of quilombo communities) stemmed from various sources, whether as symbols of

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[11] French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 9; Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*, 28; Alfredo Wagner Berno de Almeida, *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias* (Manaus: UEA Edições, 2011), 36.
[12] Dom Phillips, "Their Forefathers Were Enslaved. Now, 400 Years Later, Their Children Will Be Landowners," *The Guardian* (2018).
[13] Almeida, *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias*, 38.
[14] Aurico Dias, interview by Edward Shore, March 12, 2015, Quilombo São Pedro; Ana Maria Andrade and Nilto Tatto, *Inventário Cultural De Quilombos Do Vale Do Ribeira* (São Paulo: Instituto Socioambiental, 2013), 8-9; Cristina Adams et al., "Diversifying Incomes and Losing Landscape Complexity in Quilombola Shifting Cultivation Communities of the Atlantic Rainforest (Brazil)," *Human Ecology* 41 (2012): 127.
[15] Farfán-Santos, *Black Bodies, Black Rights: The Politics of Quilombolismo in Brazil*; French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*; Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*; Eliane Cantarino O'Dwyer, *Quilombos: Identidade Étnica E Territorialidade* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2002).

resistance to white supremacy and capitalism or as practitioners of low-impact subsistence agriculture. These groups contributed to the passage of the first legislation in Brazil that accorded race-based rights to Afro-Brazilians, no small accomplishment in a society that long denied the existence of racism.[16] The Quilombo Law originated at the 1987-1988 Constituent Assembly, which convened in Brasília to write a new democratic charter after more than two decades of military rule and incorporated progressive measures supported by new social movements that had solidified during the 1980s.[17] Opponents of Article 68, which include conservative politicians, large landowners, and developers, have decried the assault on private property and the nation's harmonious reputation as a "racial democracy."[18] In this sense, I contend that the controversies surrounding Article 68 reflect longstanding battles over land, power, and racial entitlement in Brazilian society.

2. The Quilombo Law in a Global Context

The enactment of Article 68 on the centenary of abolition in Brazil coincided with a wave of multicultural citizenship reforms in Latin America that established constitutional rights for racial and ethnic minorities after decades of authoritarianism.[19] In 1993, the Colombian

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[16] Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*; Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*; Paixão, *500 Anos De Solidão: Ensaios Sobre as Desigualdades Raciais No Brasil*; Micol Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009); Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*.

[17] See Sonia Alvarez, "Reweaving the Fabric of Collective Action: Social Movements and Challenges 'Actually Existing Democracy' in Brazil," in *Between Resistance and Revolution: Cultural Politics and Social Protest*, ed. R. Fox and O. Starn (1997); French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*; Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*; Antônia Gay and Mariana Trotta Dallalana Quintans, "Movimento Negro E Luta Pelos Direitos: A Participação Na Anc E as Conquistas Na Constituição Federal Brasileira," (2015).

[18] Biblioteca da Câmara dos Deputados, "O Processo Constituinte- Art. 68-Adct," (Brasília 1988).

[19] A. Castellanos, "Pueblos Indios, Racismo Y Estado," in *Perspectivas Críticas Sobre La Cohesión Social: Desigualdad Y Tentativas Fallidas De Integración Social En América Latina* ed. CB Solano (Buenos Aires: CLASCO, 2011); Hooker, "Indigenous Inclusion/Black Exclusion: Race, Ethnicity, and Multicultural Citizenship in Latin America."; Charles Hale, "Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights, and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala," ibid.34 (2002); Oslender, *The Geographies of Social Movements*; French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*; Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*.

legislature ratified Law 70, which grants territorial and cultural rights to the descendants of slaves (*palenqueros* and *cimarrones*) residing on the Pacific Coast.[20] Ecuador's 1998 constitution recognizes the rights of Afro-Ecuadoreans to collective lands and culture.[21] In Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, Afro-descendants have the same rights as indigenous peoples, including the right to collective land ownership and bilingual education.[22] Bolivia's Plurinational Constitution of 2009 incorporated the 2007 UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.[23] In 2018, rural black communities residing in Mexico's Pacific Coast are attempting to gain legal recognition for their lands and cultural traditions.[24] Moreover, black activists and their supporters throughout Latin America have seized upon international conventions, such as Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO) on the Rights of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples and Durban's 2001 World Conference Against Racism, to pressure governments to fulfill their constitutional obligations.[25] I seek to demonstrate how Brazil's quilombo movement was a watershed for Afro-Latino political mobilization for constitutional rights and social justice.

3. Case Study: The Quilombos of the Vale do Ribeira

I analyze the emergence of legal rights for quilombo descendants through an examination of specific communities residing in São Paulo's Vale do Ribeira, a frontier region where I

[20] Engel, *The Elusive Promise of Indigenous Development: Rights, Culture, Strategy*, 229; Oslender, *The Geographies of Social Movements*, 136-37; Arturo Escobar, *Territories of Difference: Place, Movement, Life, Redes* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008).
[21] Hooker, "Indigenous Inclusion/Black Exclusion: Race, Ethnicity, and Multicultural Citizenship in Latin America," 286.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Engel, *The Elusive Promise of Indigenous Development: Rights, Culture, Strategy*, 70-72.
[24] América Nicte-Ha López Chávez, "La Movilización Etnopolítica Afromexicana: Estudo De Caso De La Costa Chica De Guerrero Y Oaxaca De 1996 a 2016," in *Mark Claster Mamolen Dissertation Workshop on Afro-Latin American Studies at Harvard University* (Cambridge, MA2017).
[25] See Hooker, "Indigenous Inclusion/Black Exclusion: Race, Ethnicity, and Multicultural Citizenship in Latin America."; Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*.

conducted archival research and recorded oral histories of quilombola activists and their supporters. The valley is located between two of Brazil's largest cities—São Paulo and Curitiba—covering 1.7 million hectares between the Atlantic Ocean and the Serra do Mar National Park.[26] Conservationists note that the region preserves the largest remaining concentration of Atlantic Forest remnants in Brazil.[27] Due to geographical inaccessibility and chronic flooding of the Ribeira de Iguape River, the Vale do Ribeira has remained relatively isolated from economic development and urbanization. In fact, the region covers ten percent of São Paulo's territory but accounts for just one percent of the state's population, approximately 430,000 inhabitants.[28]

Eighty-eight maroon-descendant communities call the Vale do Ribeira home.[29] Many are the descendants of African slaves who toiled in an eighteenth-century gold rush.[30] Like their ancestors, these communities still face threats to their dignity, this time from the intrusion of cattle ranchers, mining companies, and forest rangers on ancestral lands.[31] Ivaporunduva, the oldest quilombo in the Vale do Ribeira, was the first community in Brazil to sue the government

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[26] Ocimar Baptista Bim, "Mosaico De Jacuprianga, Vale Do Ribeira, São Paulo: Conservação, Conflitos, E Soluções Socioambientais" (Universidade de São Paulo, 2012), 19; Kátia Pacheco dos Santos and Nilto Tatto, *Agenda Socioambiental De Comunidades Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira* (São Paulo: Instituto Socioambiental, 2008), 8-9.

[27] Bim, "Mosaico De Jacuprianga, Vale Do Ribeira, São Paulo: Conservação, Conflitos, E Soluções Socioambientais," 19. Just 7% of the original Atlantic Forest survives in Brazil. Approximately 22% of those remnants are concentrated in the Vale do Ribeira.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Santos and Tatto, *Agenda Socioambiental De Comunidades Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 8-9.

[30] Guilherme dos Santos Barboza, *Relatóro Técnico-Científico Sobre as Organizações Descendentes De Quilombos De Ivaporunduva, Praia Grande, E Pilões: Vale Do Ribeira, São Paulo* (São Paulo: CABEPEC, 1993), 24; Renato da Silva Queiróz, *Caipiras Negros No Vale Do Ribeira: Um Estudo Antropológico Econômica* (São Paulo: EduSP, 1983), 42-43; Débora Stucchi et al., "Comunidades Negras De Ivaporunduva, São Pedro, Pedro Cubas, Sapatu, Nhunguara, André Lopes, Maria Rosa E Pilões," in *Negros Do Ribeira: Reconhecimento Étnico E Conquista Do Território* ed. Tânia Andrade (São Paulo: ITESP, 2000), 61.

[31] Dias, "Interview with Aurico Dias."; Adams et al., "Diversifying Incomes and Losing Landscape Complexity in Quilombola Shifting Cultivation Communities of the Atlantic Rainforest (Brazil)," 127; Andrade and Tatto, *Inventário Cultural De Quilombos Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 13.

for its failure to enforce Article 68 in 1994.[32] To explain how the quilombo movement took hold in the Vale do Ribeira, we must not only examine the historical experience of runaways under slavery and the post-emancipation period; rather, we must also consider historical arcs of continuity and change in how rural black communities have struggled to defend their autonomy.

4. Slave-Era Quilombos in Brazil

Between 1570 and 1857, slavers trafficked four-and-a-half million Africans from diverse parts of the continent through Brazilian ports.[33] Slavery penetrated every aspect of Brazilian life. African and Afro-Brazilian slaves toiled in sugar mills, plantations, mines, farms, factories, kitchens, and households, powerfully shaping material, cultural, and spiritual life in Brazil.[34] Wherever there was slavery, there was also resistance, struggles that assumed many forms.

One such form of resistance was the formation of communities of runaway slaves.[35] In Brazil, these groups were known as quilombos and *mocambos*. In Spanish America, *palenques*, *cimarrones*, and *cumbias.*[36] In English, maroons, and in French, *grand marronage*.[37] Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of maroon communities dotted the Brazilian landscape throughout the colonial period and the nineteenth century.[38] They were varied in size and location.[39] The 10,000-strong Quilombo dos Palmares, Brazil's most famous maroon community, outlasted the

[32] Michael Mary Nolan et al., "Advocacia," (Instituto Socioambiental 1994); Maria Sueli Berlanga, interview by Edward Shore, August 17, 2015; Michael Mary Nolan, interview by Edward Shore, August 24, 2015, São Paulo.
[33] Walter Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slaves and Freed People in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1910*, trans. Mary Ann Mahony (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2016), xi. On the first and last ships to traffic African slaves to Brazil, see www.slavevoyages.org.
[34] João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes, eds., *Freedom by a Thread: The History of Quilombos in Brazil* (New York Diasporic Africa Press, 2016), 3-5.
[35] Richard Price, *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
[36] Ibid., 1-3.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Clóvis Moura, *Rebeliões Da Senzala: Quilombos, Insurreições, Guerrilhas* (Rio de Janeiro: Conquista, 1972), 87-90; Flávio dos Santos Gomes, *Mocambos E Quilombos: Uma História Do Campesinato Negro No Brasil* (São Paulo: Claroengima, 2015), 12-15.
[39] Moura, *Rebeliões Da Senzala: Quilombos, Insurreições, Guerrilhas*, 87-90; Gomes, *Mocambos E Quilombos: Uma História Do Campesinato Negro No Brasil*, 12-15.

repeated assaults of European forces for nearly a century until its destruction in 1694.[40] However, most quilombos were actually quite small, such as Ivaporunduva and São Pedro in the Vale do Ribeira.[41] Moreover, many maroon communities were not only inhabited by fugitive slaves, but also free persons.[42]

The Portuguese Overseas Council, the governing body that administered the Portuguese Empire, introduced the following definition of a quilombo in 1740: "any habitation, occupied by five or more fugitive blacks, which may or may not have huts or pestles."[43] The reference to huts (*ranchos*) and pestles (*pilões*), used to grind corn and manioc flour, suggests the prevalence of subsistence agriculture and informal practices of land tenure.[44] Nothing alarmed slaveholders in Brazil more than the threat of slave rebellions and *grand marronage*. The prevalence of newspaper advertisements for fugitive slaves and the regular deployment of bush captains (*capitães de mato*) and punitive expeditions against maroons reveals how slaveholders viewed quilombos as inducements for other slaves and threats to the seigneurial order. Authorities vilified quilombos not merely because they resisted slavery, but also because they controlled the landscape in ways that challenged the plantations, mines, and ranches central to Brazil's economy.

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[40] Funari and Carvalho, "Palmares: A Rebel Polity through Archaeological Lenses."; Carneiro, *O Quilombo Dos Palmares*; R.K. Kent, "Palmares: An African State in Brazil," *Journal of African Studies* 6, no. 2 (1965).
[41] Moura, *Rebeliões Da Senzala: Quilombos, Insurreições, Guerrilhas*, 87-89; Barboza, *Relatóro Técnico-Científico Sobre as Organizações Descendentes De Quilombos De Ivaporunduva, Praia Grande, E Pilões: Vale Do Ribeira, São Paulo*, 24.
[42] Flávio dos Santos Gomes, "Quilombos of Rio De Janeiro in the Nineteenth Century," in *Freedom by a Thread: The History of Quilombos in Brazil*, ed. João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes (New York: Diasporic Africa Press, 2016), 232-37; *Mocambos E Quilombos: Uma História Do Campesinato Negro No Brasil*, 12-15; Almeida, *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias*, 34-40.
[43] In Portuguese, the 1740 Overseas Council decree stated, "*toda habitação de negros fugidos, que passem de cinco, em parte despovoada, ainda que não tenham ranchos levantados nem se achem pilões neles.* See *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias*, 38.
[44] Ibid., 38-40.

For instance, in the northeastern province of Maranhão, the provincial president revealed in 1853 that a significant reason for attacking quilombos was to open a fertile, underdeveloped territory to new agricultural settlement. He wrote to the provincial assembly of Maranhão,

> I will not take the time to demonstrate the need that existed to free Turyassú from the yoke of the quilombos; it is sufficient to point out that they kept it constantly under the threat of an uprising which would inevitably have spread to the Alcântara and Viana districts; that they placed both property and the personal safety of its inhabitants in danger; and that they rendered inaccessible a territory that was otherwise extremely fertile and suitable for various types of agriculture.[45]

In other words, authorities also reviled quilombos due to their territorial dominion, just as developers dismiss their descendants' land claims as impediments to agribusiness today.

Quilombos further provided sanctuary to other refugees from Brazil's system of land concentration and coercive labor, attracting free and freed blacks (*libertos*), peasants, indigenous peoples, draft dodgers, and outlaws.[46] Indeed, recent historiography has debunked the image of quilombos as cultural isolates frozen in an African past.[47] Historians such as Flávio dos Santos Gomes and Mundinha de Araújo have traced how quilombo communities in Rio de Janeiro and Maranhão forged dynamic links with both mainstream society and other subaltern groups.[48] As I will argue in my dissertation, the descendants of quilombos have also made strategic alliances with sectors of dominant society to ensure their survival, revealing their fundamentally adaptive

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[45] Robert Edgar Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 386-87.
[46] Matthias Rohrig Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," in *Freedom by a Thread: The History of Quilombos in Brazil*, ed. João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes (New York: Diasporic Africa Press, 2016), 368-69; Mundinha Araújo, *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana* (São Luís: Edições AVL, 2006), 39; Luiza Rios Ricci Volpato, "Quilombos in Mato Grosso: Black Resistance in a Border Area," in *Freedom by a Thread: The History of Quilombos in Brazil*, ed. João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes (New York: Diasporic Africa Press, 2016), 193; Carlos Magno Guimarães, "Mining, Quilombos, and Palmares: Minas Gerais in the Eighteenth Century," ibid., 130-33.
[47] Reis and Gomes, *Freedom by a Thread: The History of Quilombos in Brazil*; Gomes, "Quilombos of Rio De Janeiro in the Nineteenth Century," 232-37; *Mocambos E Quilombos: Uma História Do Campesinato Negro No Brasil*, 12-15; Almeida, *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias*, 34-40.
[48] Gomes, "Quilombos of Rio De Janeiro in the Nineteenth Century," 232; Araújo, *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*, 39.

capacities as historical actors. In return, we might say, they have provided political or existential refuge (if not necessarily territorial refuge) to present-day critics of Brazil's dominant model of capitalist development.

5. Historiographical Contributions

Scholars have long debated the question of "African survivals" versus "creolization" under slavery in the Americas.[49] In his seminal study of black history and culture, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941), anthropologist Melville Herskovits identified cultural traditions he viewed as "African" to refute the notion that slavery had stripped its victims of their heritage.[50] During the post-emancipation period, Brazilian intellectuals such as Manuel Querino, Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Gilberto Freyre, and Edison Carneiro researched "African survivals" to assess their influence upon the construction of national identity.[51] Yet beginning in the 1970s, scholarly research of African slaves and their descendants in the Americas emphasized processes of cultural change rather than mere inheritance of African traits. In *The Birth of African-American Culture* (1976), anthropologists Sidney Mintz and Richard Price argued that the social experience of bondage proved far more consequential in the formation of black cultures of the Americas than any "retentions" associated with specific African ethnic groups.[52] Mintz and Price's emphasis upon syncretic cultures and the historical experience of

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[49] For pioneering research of "African survivals" in the Americas, see Fernando Ortiz, *Los Negros Esclavos* (Havana: Revista Bimestre Cubana, 1916); Manuel Querino, *Costumes Africanos No Brasil*, 2nd ed. (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, 1988); Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, *Os Africanos No Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1932); Arthur Ramos, *O Negro No Brasil: Etnografia Religiosa E Psicanálise* (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, 1988); Melville Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1941); Carneiro, *O Quilombo Dos Palmares*. For research emphasizing "creolization," see Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1976).

[50] Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*.

[51] Querino, *Costumes Africanos No Brasil*; Rodrigues, *Os Africanos No Brasil* ; Ramos, *O Negro No Brasil: Etnografia Religiosa E Psicanálise*; Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986); Carneiro, *O Quilombo Dos Palmares*.

[52] Mintz and Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*. For a superb analysis of *The Birth of African-American Culture*, see Judith Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 2-4.

slavery inspired "slave-centered" analyses in Brazilian historiography during the 1980s and 1990s.[53] A revisionist school of African Diaspora scholars has since shifted focus away from creolization to bring greater specificity to African survivals.[54] Robert Voeks, James Sweet, Judith Carney, Paul Lovejoy, John Thornton, and Frederick Knight have charted the adaptation of cultural rites, beliefs, and agro-ecologies from specific African ethnic homelands to slave communities in Brazil and the Americas.[55]

"Avengers of Zumbi" examines another facet and periodization of Afro-Brazilian history: the continuities and transformations between slave-era quilombo communities and their post-emancipation descendants. In this sense, my work engages with Hebe Mattos de Castro (*As Cores do Silêncio*, 1993), Dale Torston Graden (*From Slavery to Freedom*, 2006), and Walter Fraga (*As Encruzilhadas da Liberdade*, 2006), whose research explores how day-to-day experiences of slavery influenced choices, attitudes, expectations, and plans for freedom in the post-abolition period.[56]

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[53] See Mary Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio De Janeiro, 1808-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia*, trans. Arthur Brakel (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Reis and Gomes, *Freedom by a Thread: The History of Quilombos in Brazil*; Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888*; ibid.

[54] James Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the Afro-Portuguese World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 1-3.

[55] See Robert Voeks, *Sacred Leaves of Candomblé: African Magic, Medicine, and Religion in Brazil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997); Robert Voeks and John Rashford, eds., *African Ethnobotany in the Americas* (New York Springer, 2013); Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the Afro-Portuguese World*; *Domingos Álvarez, African Healing, and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas*; Judith Carney and Richard Rosomoff, *Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011); Paul Lovejoy, "The African Diaspora: Revisionist Interpretations of Ethnicity, Culture, and Religion under Slavery," *Studies in the World of History of Slavery, Abolition, and Emancipation* 2 (1997); John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Frederick C. Knight, *Working the Diaspora: The Impact of African Labor on the Anglo-American World, 1650-1850* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2010).

[56] Hebe Maria Mattos de Castro, *Das Cores Do Silêncio: Os Significados Da Liberdade No Sudeste Escravista No Século Xix* (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional 1993), 18-22; Dale Torston Graden, *From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil: Bahia, 1835-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006); Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slaves and Freed People in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1910*, 3-5.

Until recently, historians have tended to compartmentalize the histories of slavery and abolition in Brazil. Emancipation on May 13, 1888, and the rise of the Brazilian Republic in 1889 ushered a new era of industrialization, European immigration, and free labor.[57] In 1890, finance minister Rui Barbosa ordered the treasury to burn all records related to slavery, in part to stave off demands for the indemnification of former slave owners, but also to eliminate the "black stain" of Brazil's past.[58] Similarly, early studies of the post-emancipation period analyzed the transition from slavery to free labor from the perspective of political economy while largely ignoring the historical memory and cultural ecology of free workers who had previously toiled as slaves or were descended from them.[59] Although historical research traces the destinies of former slaves to illustrate how past experiences of captivity influenced their choices and plans for freedom following emancipation, these studies do not connect larger histories of resistance and accommodation to slavery to contemporary activism.[60] "Avengers of Zumbi" thus aims to link the histories of quilombos before 1888 to those made by their descendants after Article 68 in 1988, further bridging the divide between studies of slavery and the post-emancipation period in Brazil.

My dissertation engages with the literature on critical geography to demonstrate how racialization—that is, the processes by which groups with purported phenotypical differences are ranked, restricted, and stereotyped—remains fundamentally linked to conflicts over the use and

[57] George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988* (Madison: University of Wisconisn Press 1991).
[58] Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*, 7.
[59] Caio Prado Júnior, *História Econômica Do Brasil* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1961); Florestan Fernandes, *A Integração Do Negro Na Sociedade De Classes* (São Paulo: Ática, 1978).
[60] Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slaves and Freed People in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1910*; Graden, *From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil: Bahia, 1835-1900*; Castro, *Das Cores Do Silêncio: Os Significados Da Liberdade No Sudeste Escravista No Século Xix*; Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988*.

control of space.[61] As Katherine McKittrick has shown, geography as a professional discipline originated in European colonialism, legitimizing the racial ideologies that delineated where non-dominant groups "naturally" belonged.[62] In this sense, slaveholders in Brazil believed that the proper place for indigenous and African slaves was on "their" property. Those who resisted were deemed "barbarous," their lifestyles "slothful," and their landscapes "disorderly."[63] For runaway slaves, however, place-based dominion allowed for greater freedom of movement, expression, and association. Quilombolas residing in the Atlantic Forest and the semi-arid *sertão* of the Brazilian Northeast developed an alternative to the slave-sugar plantation complex that was based on hunting, fishing, foraging, and cultivation of African, European, and Amerindian staple crops for their subsistence and trade. In other words, territorial control, sustained with stamina and suffering, was fundamental for runaway slaves in ensuring the civil liberties that they had been legally denied under bondage.[64] My study analyzes how the descendants of fugitive slaves have asserted an autonomy that is bound with past and present socio-spatial struggles.

"Avengers of Zumbi" employs a "critical place perspective" to examine the nature of maroon-descendant political mobilization in the Vale do Ribeira. Geographer Ulrich Oslender

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[61] For a definition of racialization, see Audrey Kobayahsi and Linda Peake, "Racism out of Place: Thoughts on Whiteness and an Antiracist Geography in the New Millennium," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90, no. 2 (2010): 393. For more about how geographies of domination produce racial identities, see Katherine McKittrick, "Plantation Futures," *Small Axe* 17, no. 3 (2013); *Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Catherine Nash, "Cultural Geography: Anti-Racist Geographies," *Progress in Human Geography* 27, no. 5 (2003); Laura Pulido, "Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California " *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90, no. 1 (2000); Nancy Priscilla Naro, *A Slave's Place, a Master's World: Fashioning Dependency in Rural Brazil* (London and New York Continuum Press, 2000).

[62] McKittrick, *Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*, xv; "Plantation Futures," 6. See also, Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 5.

[63] Naro, *A Slave's Place, a Master's World: Fashioning Dependency in Rural Brazil*, 9; McKittrick, "Plantation Futures," 6.

[64] For historical research of slavery demonstrating the relationship between freedom and territorial control, see Castro, *Das Cores Do Silêncio: Os Significados Da Liberdade No Sudeste Escravista No Século Xix*; Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slaves and Freed People in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1910*.

developed a critical place perspective to illuminate how social movements are constituted by particular geographies on the ground.[65] Drawing from two decades of ethnographic research of rural Afro-descendant communities residing in the Pacific lowlands of Colombia, Oslender considers how aquatic elements—high levels of precipitation, large tidal ranges, expansive river networks, mangrove swamps, and frequent inundations—have shaped everyday life patterns in the region.[66] These spatialized social relationships, which Oslender has termed "aquatic space," have informed the political mobilization of rural black communities for collective land titles and federal benefits in accordance with Colombia's Law 70.[67] Echoing Oslender, I theorize that a powerful sense of belonging to ancestral lands and forests has fueled rural Afro-Brazilians' historical struggles for land rights and freedom in São Paulo's Atlantic Forest. Drawing from oral histories recorded in the quilombos of São Pedro, Pedro Cubas, and Ivaporunduva, this study reveals how Afro-descendant peasants have channeled their agro-ecological knowledge, territorial mastery, and shared histories of resistance to demand land, resources, and the social rights of citizenship.

"Avengers of Zumbi" imparts a historical perspective to understanding the emergence of multicultural citizenship reforms in Latin America since the 1970s. Much of the academic research on this topic comes from anthropology, sociology, geography, political science, and legal studies.[68] For instance, Karen Engel has examined how indigenous communities have

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[65] Oslender, *The Geographies of Social Movements*, 16.
[66] "The Logic of the River: A Spatial Approach to Ethnic-Territorial Mobilization in the Colombian Pacific Region," *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 7, no. 2 (2002): 92.
[67] *The Geographies of Social Movements*, 34.
[68] Hale, "Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights, and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala."; Juliet Hooker, "Indigenous Inclusion/Black Exclusion: Race, Ethnicity, and Multicultural Citizenship in Latin America," ibid.37 (2005); Engel, *The Elusive Promise of Indigenous Development: Rights, Culture, Strategy*; Oslender, *The Geographies of Social Movements*; French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*; Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*; Almeida, *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias*; Farfán-Santos, *Black Bodies, Black Rights: The Politics of Quilombolismo in Brazil*; Garfield, *In Search of the Amazon: Brazil, the United States, and the Nature of a Region*.

invoked international law to advance claims for heritage, territory, and economic development.[69] She argues that "cultural rights" prevailed as the dominant framework of indigenous advocacy during the late twentieth century, essentializing notions of indigenous culture and circumscribing the economic, cultural, and territorial autonomy of indigenous communities.[70] Juliet Hooker has analyzed the disparity in collective rights between indigenous and Afro-descendant groups following the enactment of multicultural citizenship reforms in Latin America, noting the greater success of the former based upon perceived notions of ethnic separateness, rather than the latter's purported dilution through racial mixture.[71] In the case of quilombo descendants in Brazil, Jan Hoffman French introduced the concept of "legalizing identities" to understand how the enactment of multicultural citizenship reforms, most notably the Indian Statute of 1973 and Article 68, led rural communities in Brazil that had previously identified as "peasants" to assert indigenous and *quilombola* identities instead.[72] Yet what is lacking from these studies of multicultural citizenship reforms are longer arcs of historical continuity and transformation—whether those of dominant ideologies, such as racial democracy, or the historical memory of subaltern populations.

Finally, "Avengers of Zumbi" advances historical understanding of "ethnodevelopment," an alternative model of development based on the lived experiences and cultural expressions of indigenous and Afro-descendant populations.[73] Scholars like Ramachandra Guha, Joan Martínez-Alier, and Rob Nixon have traced the rise of the "environmentalism of the poor," which in a

[69] Engel, *The Elusive Promise of Indigenous Development: Rights, Culture, Strategy*.
[70] Ibid., 5-9.
[71] Hooker, "Indigenous Inclusion/Black Exclusion: Race, Ethnicity, and Multicultural Citizenship in Latin America."
[72] French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 9.
[73] Engel, *The Elusive Promise of Indigenous Development: Rights, Culture, Strategy*, 183; Escobar, *Territories of Difference: Place, Movement, Life, Redes*.

global context of colonialism and neoliberalism, often entails non-white populations.[74] In Brazil, Antônio Carlos Diegues, has explored how indigenous and traditional peoples and their advocates have pressed for *etnoconservação* (ethno-conservation).[75] In contrast to mainstream conservationists, who remain preoccupied with the protection of pristine ecosystems from human intervention, proponents of etnoconservação in Brazil have advocated for models of sustainable development that recognize the use rights of traditional populations—Indians, quilombolas *caiçaras* (fishermen and subsistence farmers of mixed-race ancestry), extractivists, *castanheiros* (nut gatherers), and *ribeirinhos* (riverside dwellers)—to the tropical forests and ecosystems they inhabit.[76] These communities are not anti-modern or anti-development, as romantics conjure or detractors insist. Rather, quilombolas have advocated for models of inclusion that not only recognize cultural traditions, but also promote the social rights of citizenship—access to land, education, health care, fair wages, transportation, social security, and political participation—to ensure the sustainability of their livelihoods. Using oral histories and archival collections at the Instituto Socioambiental (Socio-Environmental Institute, ISA), a São Paulo-based, ethno-conservationist NGO, "Avengers of Zumbi" offers a fine-grained, historical analysis of how socio-environmental conflicts are bound with past and present socio-spatial struggles.

6. Organization

[74] Ramachandra Guha, *The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalaya* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989); Ramachandra Guha and Joan Martínez Alier, *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South* (London: Earthscan Publications, 1997); Alier, *The Environmentalism of the Poor: A Study of Ecological Conflicts and Valuation*; Rob Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
[75] Diegues, *Etnoconservação: Novos Rumos Para a Conservação Da Natureza*, 41-45.
[76] Ibid. See also Manuela Carneiro da Cunha and Mauro W.B. de Almeida, "Indigenous People, Traditional People, and Conservation in the Amazon," *Daedalus* 129, no. 2 (2000); Alfredo Wagner Berno de Almeida, *Traditionally Occupied Lands in Brazil*, trans. Mason Mathews (Manaus: PGSCA-UFAM, 2011); Hochstetler and Keck, *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*; Allegretti, "Extractive Reserves: An Alternative for Reconciling Development and Environmental Conservation in Amazonia."; Garfield, *In Search of the Amazon: Brazil, the United States, and the Nature of a Region*.

The voices of fugitive slaves rarely appear in archival sources, since most runaways were illiterate; memory and oral tradition rather than the written word conveyed the historical past.[77] Yet critical analysis of correspondence between Luso-Brazilian officials and slaveowners sheds certain light upon the social, cultural, and agricultural lives of quilombolas and their interactions with the natural environment. Chapter One examines the historical experiences of the maroons of Palmares (1600-1695), Brazil's most famous quilombo. Elites demonized the maroons of Palmares, I seek to show, not merely because they undermined seigneurial authority, but also because they transformed the landscape in ways that challenged the plantation and ranching economies central to Brazil's socioeconomic, political, and moral order. This chapter also analyzes the cultural ecology of Palmares to demonstrate the material and symbolic foundations of freedom for runaways. The conflicts over land, resources, and social justice embroiling quilombola communities today reveal similar spatial and social dynamics.

Since Palmares was remarkable in its size and duration, I seek to study a more "typical" quilombo in Chapter Two. Quilombos formed near farms, mills, mines, and even cities and their residents traded with neighbors, facilitating the formation of an informal economy and information network that warned fugitive slaves of the movements of slave catchers (*capitães de mato*) and armed troops. The presence of quilombos rankled elites because they often provided sanctuary to others fleeing Brazil's system of land concentration and coercive labor, including peasants, Indians, vagrants, criminals, and military deserters. In the northeastern province of Maranhão, for example, maroons participated alongside other subaltern groups in plotting revolts and staging rebellions throughout the nineteenth century. Drawing from correspondence between slaveowners and authorities throughout the nineteenth century, Chapter Two illuminates how

[77] Richard Price, *First-Time: The Historical Vision of an African American People* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 25.

quilombolas residing in the hinterlands of Maranhão forged dynamic ties with sectors of rural society, foreshadowing their descendants' alliances with the Liberationist Catholic Church, anthropologists, urban black activists, and environmentalists during the late twentieth century.

Whether as icons of resistance to slavery and agrarian capitalism, or as vectors of "backwardness" and "degeneracy," quilombos remained an important piece of Brazil's collective reckoning about slavery and its legacy. Chapter Three explores the contested meanings of fugitive slave communities among activists, intellectuals, and state officials in Brazil in the aftermath of abolition in 1888. On the one hand, prominent intellectuals, including the renowned Afro-Brazilian physician, Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, pathologized the Quilombo dos Palmares as a source of Brazil's "racial degeneracy" and underdevelopment. Yet beginning in the 1920s, a generation of folklorists based in the Brazilian Northeast repurposed maroon communities as pure repositories of "Africanness," one of the building blocks of Brazil's cultural patrimony. São Paulo's black press imparted yet other meanings to quilombos during the 1930s, refashioning fugitive slave communities as symbols of black nationalism and self-determination to protest the marginalization of Afro-Brazilians in post-emancipation society. Under the dictatorial regime of Getúlio Vargas (1937-1945), the notion of racial mixture would become a quasi-official state ideology. In this context, regime ideologues branded quilombos and their descendants as racial separatists anathema to Brazil's "racial democracy."

In an ideological tug-of-war, however, black activists and intellectuals showcased runaway slave communities to debunk romantic depictions of Brazilian slavery and race relations between the 1950s and 1980s. Abdias do Nascimento, an Afro-Brazilian scholar, artist, and politician, championed *quilombismo*, calling upon nonwhite Brazilians to embrace black identities and the purported values of slave-era communities: cooperation, creativity, collective

labor, communal land ownership, and cultural resistance. In the 1970s, Afro-Brazilian researchers such as the historian Maria Beatriz do Nascimento and the ethnographer Guilherme dos Santos Barboza conducted field work in the countryside to document the histories of "ex-quilombos." These competing views about quilombos would be on display in the acrimonious debates surrounding the passage of Article 68 at the 1987-1988 National Constituent Assembly in Brasília.

During the 1970s, poor communities of farmers, fishermen, extractivists, and indigenous peoples were displaced throughout the Brazilian countryside by an onslaught of state-sponsored projects under the military government. Maroon-descendant communities were among the casualties. Nevertheless, rural Afro-Brazilians would be assisted by sectors of dominant society that challenged the military's exclusionary model of development. Chapter Four uses oral histories, Catholic Church archives, and congressional hearings to reveal how the descendants of quilombos, residing in Maranhão's Turiaçu River Valley, told their stories of resistance to slavery to influential outsiders, including Liberationist sectors of the Brazilian Catholic Church, anthropologists, and urban black activists, during the 1970s and 1980s. These groups supported Afro-Brazilian peasants in transforming a social memory of exploitation into a moral appeal and legal demand to pressure the Brazilian government to recognize their territorial claims based on resistance to slavery. These allies would advocate for compensatory legislation for the descendants of fugitive slaves at the 1987-1988 National Constituent Assembly. This chapter, tracing the rise of maroon-descendant political activism in the Brazilian Northeast and the historical emergence of Article 68, incorporates the rural Afro-Brazilian experience into a twentieth-century historiography of racial formation and anti-racist activism that has focused almost exclusively upon cities.

In 1994, six years after ratification of Article 68, not a single quilombo community had secured its constitutional right to land due to opposition from agribusiness and bureaucratic inertia. Chapter Five examines how maroon descendants and their allies in São Paulo's Vale do Ribeira took action through the courts to enforce constitutional rights. In 1994, Ivaporunduva, São Paulo's oldest quilombo, became the first *remanescente* community to sue the Brazilian government for its failure to enforce Article 68. Using oral histories and textual analysis ranging from colonial archives to the personal collections of prominent Afro-Brazilian activists, I demonstrate how fugitive slaves and their descendants enlisted history, ecology, and the law to challenge their territorial dispossession decades prior to the enactment of the Quilombo Law.

My final chapter explores the greening of rural black politics in Brazil. Beginning in the 1950s, the descendants of slaves in the Vale do Ribeira confronted government-sponsored projects to protect Atlantic Forest remnants and promote ecotourism. Green grabbing, the appropriation of traditional peoples' lands and resources for conservationist ends, endangered the livelihoods of maroon descendants who relied on farming, fishing, hunting, and extraction for their subsistence and trade.[78] Chapter Six revisits how quilombola activists and their supporters in the Vale do Ribeira proposed an alternative path to development based on the sustainable use of land and forest resources; the inclusion of rivers, waterfalls, forests, and mangroves in collective land titles; and respect for traditional knowledge and spatial practices. Using oral histories and archival documentation, this chapter investigates how quilombola campaigns for environmental justice and ethno-conservation drew heavily from a language of "autonomy" and "subsistence rights" redolent of their ancestors' struggles.

[78] For "green grabbing," see James Fairhead, Melissa Leach, and Ian Scoones, "Green Grabbing: A New Appropriation of Nature?," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 39, no. 2 (2012).

In sum, this political, cultural, and environmental history of the Quilombo Movement in Brazil seeks to demonstrate how an "environmentalism of the poor," rooted in a centuries-old struggle for freedom, adapted to Latin America's new social movements advocating racial equality, land redistribution, and environmental protection. Each of my six chapters explores the battles over the social reproduction and cultural representation of quilombos and/or their descendants, battles which remain imbricated within longstanding conflicts over territory, resources, and power in Brazil.

Chapter One:

"Spatial Morality" and the Quilombo dos Palmares, 1600-1695

This chapter compares and contrasts the geographic imaginary of colonial Brazilian authorities with quilombos' visualization of space. Focused on the Brazilian Northeast during the seventeenth century, it engages with the literature on critical geography to demonstrate how the countryside was not merely the material site of struggle between masters and slaves but also the symbolic site of conflict over interpretations and representations of space.[79] Large landowners sought to transform the natural environment—the Atlantic Forest (*Mata Atlântica*) and the semi-arid hinterlands (*sertão*)—-to promote sugar cane monoculture, cattle ranching, and rural colonization. Yet maroon communities developed a viable alternative to the slave-plantation complex pivoting around collective territorial control, subsistence economies based on family and community labor, and cultivation of Amerindian and Old World staple crops. Colonial officials regarded quilombolas as "barbarians," anathema not only to a seigneurial order but also the conversion of "disorderly" landscapes into "productive settlements."[80] Chapter One introduces my central thesis: elites reviled quilombos not merely because they resisted slavery, but also because they transformed the landscape in ways that threatened the plantation and mining economies central to Brazil's social, political, and moral order.

The first part of this chapter analyzes the "spatial morality" of sugar cane planters in Bahia to explain their contempt for maroon communities. I introduce the concept of spatial morality to describe the ideals and practices that informed how planters managed the landscape

[79] McKittrick, "Plantation Futures."; *Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*; Oslender, *The Geographies of Social Movements*; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1991).
[80] McKittrick, "Plantation Futures," 6-7.

and its inhabitants.[81] Although other economic activities such as tobacco farming, mining, and ranching dotted the Bahian countryside, the *engenho* (sugar mill) and its organizational principles powerfully shaped colonial Brazilian society.[82] The writings of Fr. André João Antonil, an Italian Jesuit priest who resided in Bahia at the turn of the eighteenth century, illuminate the spatial morality of the *senhores dos engenhos* who presided over a complex social hierarchy based on slavery.[83]

Antonil's book, *Cultura e Opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas* (1711), contended that mill owners "must have the ability, skill and diligence necessary for the good management and organization of everything concerning the selection of overseers and skilled workers."[84] It counseled planters "to maintain good relations with the tenants, handle the slaves and subordinates, and supervise the upkeep and cultivation of the lands that he owns."[85] Further, Antonil argued, "The planter should therefore have nothing of pride, arrogance, and haughtiness about him. On the contrary, he should be good-natured toward all, and look on his tenants as true friends...If he is not able to do these things he will only find disappointment and ignominy in the title of sugar planter, from which he expected so much credit and prestige."[86] *Cultura e Opulência* concluded ominously that failure to uphold the tenets of land and population

[81] My theorization of spatial morality draws inspiration from the writings of French urban sociologist Henri Lefebvre and his notions of "representations of space." See Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38-41.
[82] Stuart Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 245. For research of other agricultural economies in the Brazilian Northeast, see B.J. Barickman, *A Bahian Counterpoint: Sugar, Tobacco, Cassava, and Slavery in the Recôncavo, 1780-1860* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Martha Santos, *Cleansing Honor with Blood: Masculinity, Violence, and Power in the Backlands of Northeast Brazil, 1845-1889* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012); José Jorge de Carvalho, Siglia Zambrotti Doria, and Adolfo Neves de Oliveira Jr., *O Quilombo Do Rio Das Rãs: Histórias, Tradições, Lutas* (Salvador: Editora da Universidade Federal da Bahia, 1996).
[83] André João Antonil, *Brazil at the Dawn of the Eighteenth Century* trans. Timoth J. Coates (Dartmouth Tagus Press, 2012).
[84] Ibid., 17.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid., 22.

management would lead to disorder on the engenho and the formation of quilombo insurgencies.[87]

The second part of this chapter examines the spatial practices of fugitive slaves who inhabited the Quilombo dos Palmares (1600-1695), the largest and longest-lasting maroon community in the Americas.[88] Spatial practices refer to the ways people generate, use, and perceive space.[89] As David Harvey has shown, spatial practices "take on their meanings under specific social relations of class, gender, community, ethnicity, or race and 'get used up' or 'worked over' in the course of social action."[90] Drawing from military sources and correspondence between colonial officials, this chapter argues that the Quilombo dos Palmares challenged the spatial designs of the dominant Portuguese society in Brazil. Whereas elites had associated civilization with plantations and coastal cities, the *palmarinos* established hideouts (mocambos) in tropical rainforests and atop steep ridges separated by thorny *caatinga* forests. Maroons rejected private property, worked the land collectively, and planted myriad varieties of staple crops for their subsistence and trade. Quilombola spatial practices rankled agrarian elites, who saw Palmares not only as a magnet for disgruntled slaves but also a repudiation of monoculture sustaining the economy of coastal Brazil. Authorities marshaled slave-hunters and militias to capture runaway slaves but also to reclaim maroon landscapes to eradicate their alternative agro-ecological systems.

1. Brazil's "True Mines": Sugar Mills and Spatial Morality in Colonial Bahia

[87] Ibid., 42-43.
[88] Funari and Carvalho, "Palmares: A Rebel Polity through Archaeological Lenses," 19.
[89] Oslender, *The Geographies of Social Movements*, 28.
[90] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 223.

The province of Bahia was one of the most prosperous sugar-producing regions in the New World.[91] Sugar plantations, known as "*engenhos,*" were located in the Recôncavo, a fertile, well-drained wetlands area surrounding the Bay of All Saints. The Portuguese established the port city of Salvador in 1549 on a high bluff at the northern entrance of the Bay.[92] Salvador remained the capital of Brazil until 1763 and acted as the seat of the governor, the high court, and the chief fiscal officers of the colony.[93] Although the city commanded the Bay of All Saints, the Recôncavo and the outlying *sertão* produced the agricultural commodities—sugar cane, tobacco, cotton, and beef—that made Salvador a major hub of transatlantic commerce.[94]

Sugar planters presided over a complex social hierarchy based on slavery.[95] Along with wealthy merchants, senior military officers, and high-ranking church and state officials, large mill owners were at the top of the social hierarchy, controlling the land and means of production in the Brazilian Northeast.[96] Beneath them were smaller planters, mid-level state and church officials, urban professionals, military officers below the rank of sergeant, artisans, and a sizable contingent of Bahians who lived off the income generated from moneylending, slaves, and renting buildings.[97] The third rank was comprised of lower-level civil servants, soldiers, less prestigious professional groups, innkeepers, and street vendors.[98] At the bottom of the colonial social ladder were vagabonds, beggars, and slaves.

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[91] Voeks, *Sacred Leaves of Candomblé: African Magic, Medicine, and Religion in Brazil*, 11-18; Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia*, 3.
[92] Voeks, *Sacred Leaves of Candomblé: African Magic, Medicine, and Religion in Brazil*, 11-12.
[93] Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society*, 20.
[94] Ibid., 76.
[95] Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia*, 3.
[96] Ibid., 8.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.

Between 500,000 and 550,000 enslaved Africans from the Guinean coast and Angola arrived in Brazil during the seventeenth century.[99] The vast majority of captives toiled on the sugar plantations of Bahia and Pernambuco, with small numbers going to the markets of Pará and Maranhão in the north and Rio de Janeiro in the south.[100] The discovery of gold in the province of Minas Gerais during the late seventeenth century generated new demand for African labor and tripled the volume of the slave trade.[101] Slavers trafficked approximately 1,700,000 slaves through Brazilian ports between 1670 and 1770; 1,140,000 of them were from Angola and the rest from the Mina Coast, now the Republic of Benin and present-day Nigeria.[102]

In Bahia, slavery led to the concentration of wealth, lands, and power in the hands of elites. According to João Reis, during the eighteenth century, the richest ten percent of the population controlled 67 percent of the wealth and the top five percent possessed 53 percent.[103] Nonetheless, Bahia's ruling classes were beholden to the boom and bust cycles of international commodity markets. The rise of Caribbean sugar and the discovery of gold and precious minerals in the frontier lands of Minas Gerais diminished Bahia's standing in the Portuguese Empire during the 1670s. Sugar barons struggled to retain power and prestige.

Giovanni Antonio Andreoni (1649-1716), known by his pseudonym, André João Antonil, was an Italian Jesuit priest and proponent of the sugar plantation-slave complex in Brazil. After studying law in Tuscany, Antonil entered the Society of Jesus in 1667. In 1681, he sailed for Brazil in the company of the Portuguese Empire's most famous Jesuit missionary, Fr. Antônio Vieira.[104] Antonil resided in Bahia for the rest of his life, acting as rector of the Jesuit College in

[99] Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888*, 41.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid., 41-43.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia*, 11.
[104] Antonil, *Brazil at the Dawn of the Eighteenth Century* v.

Salvador and as provincial of the Jesuit order.[105] He served as confessor to two governors of Brazil and as adviser on legal and religious matters to the archbishop of Salvador. Antonil professed an affinity for Bahia's ruling class, the *senhores dos engenhos,* and he vowed to restore sugar cane production to its proper place at the center of Portugal's colonial project in the New World, as expansion in the British Caribbean threatened Brazil's predominance. His book, *Cultura e Opulência*, espoused the virtues of mill ownership and counseled planters on the "proper" management of their slaves and states.

Antonil called for land ownership to be concentrated in the hands of "wealthy planters."[106] Mill proprietorship in the Recôncavo during the colonial period unfolded largely according to his designs. Although religious orders and corporations were major players in the sugar trade, the vast majority of plantations in Bahia were privately owned.[107] Historian Stuart Schwartz estimated that 20 aristocratic families not only owned many mills but also tended to hold the largest and best-located ones.[108] Of 151 engenhos on the Atlantic coast or within two leagues of it, wealthy clans—including the Góis, Calmon, Fiuza, Costa Pinto, Doria, and Rocha Pitta families—owned 66.[109] Even though small and middling landowners also participated in Bahia's sugar economy, wealthy planters dominated the industry for several reasons. For starters, prospective growers required vast sums of capital, influence, and access to investors in Europe. In addition to paying tithes and taxes, planters required the liquidity to secure loans, purchase slaves, and employ scores of skilled laborers, including the *banqueiro* (sugar master), technicians, accountants, overseers, chaplains, and cane farmers (*lavradores de cana*).[110]

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[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid., 15.
[107] Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society*, 96.
[108] Ibid., 97.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid., 206.

Although aspiring mill owners sought to join the ranks of Brazil's elite families, the enormous costs and social capital required to obtain a royal land grant (*sesmaria*) to construct a private mill were prohibitive to many investors.

Antonil believed that mill owners in Bahia should command the same prestige enjoyed by the Portuguese nobility.[111] He argued, "To be a sugar planter is a title to which many people aspire. It brings with it the service, the obedience, and the respect of many others. If he is, as he ought to be, a man of wealth and command, a sugar planter in Brazil can be esteemed proportionally to the titled nobility in the Kingdom of Portugal."[112] Antonil's book implored planters to embody the highest standards of leadership and personal integrity. In fact, the manual asserted that the engenho—and the complex web of economic, social, and labor relationships that sustained it—-ought to be governed by "Christian" values of hard work, discipline, and assiduous management of property and laborers. Antonil explained:

> Likewise, he [the mill owner] must have the skill and diligence necessary for the good management and organization of everything concerning the selection of overseers and skilled workers. He must also maintain good relations with the tenants, handle the slaves and subordinates, and supervise the upkeep and cultivation of the lands that he owns. In addition, he must deal promptly and honestly with merchants and his agents in the town. If he is not able to do these things he will only find disappointment and ignominy in the title of sugar planter, form which he expected so much credit and prestige.[113]

Cultura e Opulência served as a guidebook that espoused the qualities of highly successful planters. Moreover, it heralded the importance of geographical location for sugar cane production.

Antonil advised *senhores* to establish their sugar mills atop fertile soils in abundant forests. He wrote, "He [the planter] should avail himself of the advice of the most intelligent

[111] Antonil, *Brazil at the Dawn of the Eighteenth Century* 15.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid., 17.

tenants and consider not only the cheapness of the price but likewise all the facilities that he needs to have a plantation with cane."[114] The facilities needed to operate a mill not only included soils suitable for the cultivation of cane, but also grasslands for pasture, forests to procure firewood (*lenha*), and rivers to supply fresh water and energy to power the engenho. The wealthiest engenhos were located along the Atlantic coast or near the mouths of rivers, such as the Paraguaçu River.[115] As the sugar industry in the Recôncavo expanded, planters situated their mills further inland (*terra dentro*) or in the woods (*da mata*). The inland mills were smaller and "less well capitalized" than the coastal mills due to higher transportation costs and their location on cheaper real estate.[116] The woodland mills, which planters derisively called "*engenhocas*" or "*molinotes,*" were powered by oxen and tended to have a lower productive capacity than the water-driven mills.[117]

Nomenclature revealed the predilections of Antonil and his class. Elites valorized the water-powered mills (*engenhos reais*) not merely for their productivity, but also for their proximity to the Bay of All Saints, the capital city of Salvador, and "civilization" writ large.[118] On the other hand, they associated the inland mills and their rugged geographies with barbarism. The landscapes beyond the Recôncavo—mangrove swamps and the semi-arid backlands (*sertão*)—had inhibited colonization and provided defensible shelter to Tupinambá Indians, runaway slaves, and outlaws. Nonetheless, Antonil affirmed that planters could overcome unfavorable geographical conditions through the shrewd management of their estates. "All in all, it depends on whether the plantation owner has or lacks capital, people, faithful and experienced

[114] Ibid., 19.
[115] Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society*, 95-96.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.

employees, oxen and animals, boots and carts, whether his plantation is well or poorly managed," he explained.[119] "Just as in civilized life, it is not enough to have a good nature if one does not have a master who, with his instruction, helps one to improve."[120]

Successful senhores in colonial Bahia purportedly possessed two essential qualities: a sophisticated knowledge of the land and unwavering commitment to its upkeep and improvement. Antonil explained that enlightened managers recognized which lands were suitable for the cultivation of sugar cane and which were not. *Cultura e Opulência* described the qualities of various soils endemic to the Recôncavo region. The black, thick *massapés* were ideal for planting sugar cane.[121] The red, clayish *salões* were capable of producing sugar cane for only a few harvests until it exhausted.[122] The *areiscas*, a mixture of sand and *salões*, were suitable for subsistence farming.[123] Antonil elaborated a hierarchy of cultivation.[124] Nothing was more precious than the black, thick massapé earth and the tall, broad, and clean-jointed sugar cane that flourished there. Although tobacco had thrived on the sandier soils of the Cachoeira region, neither tobacco nor any other cash crop rivaled sugar cane as a marker of wealth and power in colonial Bahia.[125] As we will see, Antonil and his class held subsistence agriculture in relatively low regard, associating the practice with the labor of African slaves and poor farmers (*moradores*).

Antonil's romantic vision of spatial morality and plantation life ignored the environmentally destructive practices of sugarcane monoculture. In 1937, the Pernambucan intellectual Gilberto Freyre wrote, "Monoculture, slavery, and latifunida, but principally

[119] Antonil, *Brazil at the Dawn of the Eighteenth Century* 54.
[120] Ibid., 53-55.
[121] Ibid., 53.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society*, 83.
[125] Ibid., 86.

monoculture; they opened here, in the life, the landscape, and the character of our people, the deepest wounds."[126] He decried how sugarcane production polluted rivers with sugar mill waste, destroyed forests, and facilitated the brutal domination of slaves by senhores.[127] Indeed, exhorting his readers to meet the demands of monoculture, Antonil called for the destruction of competing vegetation such as trees, shrubs, and most of all, wild grasses, which he called "the most dangerous, continual, and most familiar enemy that persecutes the cane more or less throughout its life."[128] The Jesuit priest drew a connection between an untidy plantation and sin.

> The cane should be weeded as soon as there are any weeds or grass to remove. In the winter the grass that is removed soon grows again, so that the most important cleanings are the first ones, made to allow the cane to grow and prevent it from being smothered by the wild grass. For after it has grown, it is easier for it to resist the smaller weeds. Thus, we see the earliest vices are those that spoil good character.[129]

He proposed strict spatial and temporal guidelines for the cultivation of sugar cane.

Antonil instructed planters to plow furrows "one and a half *palmas* [12 inches] deep and two *palmas* [16 inches] broad" to prevent one cane plant from smothering another.[130] In these furrows, he advised growers to plant the cane in either shoots or in stocks measuring three or four palmas; if the cane was of a smaller variety, it should be planted whole.[131] He counseled mill owners residing in higher elevation to plant sugar cane after the first rains in the beginning of March; mill owners residing in the tropical lowlands ought to delay planting until July or August.[132] Further, he urged planters to purchase new lands after the massapés had shown the

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[126] Gilberto Freyre, *Nordeste: Aspectos Da Influência Da Cana Sobre a Vida E a Paisagem Do Nordeste Do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1989), 18. See also Thomas Rodgers, *The Deepest Wounds: A Labor and Environmental History of Sugar in Northeast Brazil* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 1-5.
[127] *The Deepest Wounds: A Labor and Environmental History of Sugar in Northeast Brazil*, 1.
[128] Antonil, *Brazil at the Dawn of the Eighteenth Century* 58.
[129] Ibid., 56.
[130] A *palma* is an archaic measured based on a span (in Portuguese, *palmo*) equivalent to 22 centimeters, or about eight inches. Ibid., 214.
[131] Ibid., 55.
[132] Ibid.

first signs of exhaustion, thereby perpetuating a costly cycle of soil depletion and territorial accumulation.[133]

Cultura e Opulência called upon senhores to surround their engenhos with stockade fences and erect clear boundary markers. Enclosure was necessary to protect the cane fields from livestock and secure waterways that powered the mill and to prevent territorial disputes with rival planters, which Antonil called "continual vexations to the soul."[134] Antonil counseled mill owners to obtain land titles and guard them carefully. He wrote, "Keeping papers in a safe place will avoid being compelled to offer many Masses to Saint Anthony, in order to find some important paper that could not be found when it was needed."[135]

Antonil's plans for orderly landscapes included instructions for the proper management of slaves. African labor was indispensable to the production and reproduction of plantation space.[136] In Bahia, the average mill employed between 20 and 100 slaves.[137] As many as 150 slaves worked on the immense coastal engenhos, although these accounted for only 17 percent of sugar plantations in the region.[138] Bondsmen, whom Antonil called "*peças*" (pieces), worked in a variety of settings, including the cane fields, mill, slaughterhouse, and master's quarters. "Slaves are the hands and feet of the planter," Antonil wrote. "Without them, it is impossible in Brazil to create, maintain, and develop a plantation or have a productive mill."[139] The Jesuit missionary left little doubt that the "proper place" of the African slave in Brazil was on the plantation, performing backbreaking work under the watchful supervision of masters and overseers.

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[133] Ibid., 56.
[134] Ibid., 20.
[135] Ibid.
[136] McKittrick, *Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*, 77.
[137] Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society*, 451-52.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.

Scholars of colonial Latin America have long analyzed the Catholic Church's views regarding slavery.[140] Frank Tannenbaum compared and contrasted the legal institutions and moral economies governing slavery in the United States and Brazil to account for the purported prevalence of "smooth" race relations in Latin America during the twentieth century.[141] His book, *Slave and Citizen* (1947), argued that Iberian colonial law, bearing the imprint of the Catholic Church doctrine of equality before God, was "biased toward freedom."[142] Manumission was easier to obtain in Spanish America and Brazil than in the British colonies, Tannenbaum claimed, and freed blacks encountered fewer obstacles to racial equality.[143] Alejandro De La Fuente reconsidered the merits of Tannenbaum's thesis, demonstrating how slaves in nineteenth-century Cuba invoked Church doctrine and Spanish jurisprudence to demand the rights to *coartación* (gradual self-purchase) and *pedir papel* (to seek a new master).[144]

Dissenting voices have emphasized the Church's defense of slavery and their active participation in the Atlantic slave trade.[145] Stuart Schwartz demonstrated that religious orders, particularly the Society of Jesus, were prolific slaveholders until their expulsion from Brazil in 1759.[146] Robert Conrad highlighted the Church's contradictory views about the institution of slavery.[147] He explained how prominent Catholic intellectuals, like the Jesuit missionary, Antônio Vieira, fashioned the Church's discordant doctrines on slavery into a "baroque

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[140] Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen* (New York: Alfred Knopf Press, 1947); Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves*; Herbert Klein, "Anglicanism, Catholicism, and the Negro Slave," *Comparative Studies in Society and HIstory* 8, no. 3 (1966); Carl Degler, *Neither Black, nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1971); Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888*; Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society*; Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the Afro-Portuguese World*.
[141] Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, vii.
[142] Ibid., 48.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Fuente, "Slave Law and Claims-Making in Cuba: The Tannenbaum Debate Revisited," 340.
[145] Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the Afro-Portuguese World*; Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888*; Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society*.
[146] *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society*.
[147] Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, 151-53.

harmony."[148] While railing against the cruel treatment that masters inflicted upon their slaves in his sermons, Vieira justified slavery through Scripture.[149] Citing the example of the Babylonian Captivity, he admonished bondsmen to submit to their "earthly chains" with the promise of eternal salvation as recompense for their loyal servitude.[150] I explore Antonil's writings on slavery because they provide insight into another spatial dimension the Church contemplated for the formation of obedient, virtuous slaves in the afterlife of heaven.

Antonil advised planters to support the spiritual and material wellness of their slaves to cultivate their loyalty. "It is customary to say in Brazil that three p's are necessary for the slave, namely *pau* [stick], *pão* [bread], and *panno* [cloth]," he wrote.[151] "Although they would begin badly by placing the stick—punishment—first, yet would to God that the feeding and clothing were as equally plentiful as the punishment often is."

Cultura e Opulência counseled mill owners to avoid excessive punishment, excuse the sick from field work, grant time off on Sundays and religious holidays, allow slaves to engage in their "traditional pastimes," and encourage bondsmen to cultivate their own provision grounds called "*roças*."[152] "This suffices to prevent them (slaves) from going hungry, and besieging the planter's house each day begging for a ration of cassava flour," Antonil affirmed.[153]

Antonil's entreaties fell upon deaf ears. Like his colleague, Antônio Vieira, Antonil expressed dismay at the negligence of planters and the rebelliousness of African slaves. "Some owners pay more attention to a horse than to half a dozen slaves," the Jesuit priest lamented.[154]

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[148] Ibid., 163.
[149] See "Children of God's Fire: A Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Finds Benefits in Slavery but Chastizes Masters for Their Brutality in a Sermond to the Black Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary," ibid.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Antonil, *Brazil at the Dawn of the Eighteenth Century* 41.
[152] Ibid., 42-43.
[153] Ibid., 42.
[154] Ibid.

"Their horse has attendants and someone to cut grass for him and is wiped down when in a sweat, and his saddle and bridle are decorated with gold."

Antonil was alarmed by the formation of maroon communities of runaway slaves in the hinterlands known as mocambos and quilombos. The term "quilombo" derived from the Mbundu word *ki'lombo,* which had referred to male warrior societies that formed among the Jaga people of Angola.[155] By the late seventeenth century, Portuguese colonists had invoked the *ki'lombo* to describe rural enclaves of fugitive slaves that attacked sugar plantations in Pernambuco.[156] Not coincidentally, a sizable majority of the enslaved and maroon population in Pernambuco were males born in Angola and Central Africa.[157] Given his view of the proper society and geographic order of things, Antonil abhorred the appearance of quilombos in Brazil. The specter of quilombos, in fact, weighed heavily as Antonil wrote *Cultura e Opulência*. The failure of the Portuguese to contain the spread of *marronage* exposed the fragility of planter rule. Only by adhering to the principles of enlightened management could mill owners retain their sense of power and place in a rapidly changing political economy. At stake was the future of the slave-plantation complex in Brazil.

2. "Lords of the Forest": Palmarian Agro-ecology, 1600-1695

In 1613, Dom Diogo Botelho, the governor of Pernambuco Captaincy, alerted King Felipe II of Portugal to a crisis in the Brazilian countryside. Fugitive slaves, striking from remote hideouts in the backlands (*sertão*), sacked plantations in the heartland of sugarcane production in Pernambuco, the *zona da mata*.

> In this captaincy, 30 leagues (180 kilometers, 110 miles) into the *sertão*, there is a place between two mountain chains called Palmares, to which slaves, fleeing from

[155] Stuart Schwartz, *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels: Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 1992), 126-27.
[156] Ibid., 125.
[157] Ibid.

> work, are welcomed…and later making attacks and raids, oblige the whites to hunt them down with weapons, and often they succeed in bringing them back, though as soon as they are released to work, they return to the same place, as it is not possible to destroy their base, causing no end to the disturbances and complains as the abuses that these vagrants commit spread the fame of Palmares, and thus they go without punishment.[158]

Governor Botelho's letter to the king is perhaps the oldest surviving archival reference to Palmares, Brazil's most famous quilombo.

Described by historian Richard Kent as an "African kingdom in Brazil," the Quilombo dos Palmares (1600-1695) constituted a network of mocambos that stretched 350 kilometers long and 80 kilometers inland from the Atlantic coast in what is today the Brazilian state of Alagoas.[159] The quilombo's inhabitants, known as Palmarians (*palmarinos*), were predominately Bantu speakers from Congo and Angola who had toiled as slaves in the cane fields and sugar mills of the *zona da mata*.[160] The Dutch invasion of Pernambuco in 1630 enabled a mass exodus of slaves from the plantation zone.[161] Free Africans, Amerindians, poor whites, and military deserters joined fugitive slaves in the wilderness and coexisted with a fast-growing population of free born Palmarians who never knew bondage.[162]

Early Palmarians found sanctuary in the Atlantic Forest (*Mata Atlântica*).[163] Prior to the Portuguese arrival, the Mata Atlântica was one of the largest tropical rainforests on the planet,

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[158] Source cited in Glenn Alan Cheney, *Quilombo Dos Palmares: Brazil's Lost Nation of Fugitive Slaves* (Hanover: New London Librarium, 2014), 48.
[159] For research of Palmares, see Gomes, *De Olho Em Zumbi Dos Palmares: Histórias, Símbolos E Memória Social*; Funari and Carvalho, "Palmares: A Rebel Polity through Archaeological Lenses."; Price, *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*; "Refiguring Palmares," in *Freedom by a Thread: The History of Quilombos in Brazil*, ed. João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes (New York: Diasporic Africa Press, 2016); Kent, "Palmares: An African State in Brazil."; Carneiro, *O Quilombo Dos Palmares*. Ennes, *As Guerras Nos Palmares*; Rodrigues, *Os Africanos No Brasil*
[160] Funari and Carvalho, "Palmares: A Rebel Polity through Archaeological Lenses," 22; Freitas, *República De Palmares: Pesquisa, E Comentários Em Documentos Históricos Do Século Xvii*, 13; Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888*, 138-40.
[161] Funari and Carvalho, "Palmares: A Rebel Polity through Archaeological Lenses," 23; Cheney, *Quilombo Dos Palmares: Brazil's Lost Nation of Fugitive Slaves*, 58.
[162] Funari and Carvalho, "Palmares: A Rebel Polity through Archaeological Lenses," 25-26.
[163] Ibid.

covering 150 million hectares in heterogeneous conditions.[164] The Atlantic Forest played host to a wide range of ecosystems—tropical rainforests, seasonal forests, mountain woodlands, grasslands, savannas, and mangrove swamps. Quilombolas used these landscapes to their advantage. Humid jungles, swamps, and turbulent rivers provided defensible shelter to scores of fugitive slaves and repelled the pursuit of slave hunters (*capitães de mato*).[165] In fact, more than a century after the emergence of the sugar industry in Pernambuco, planters had yet to colonize lands fifty kilometers inland from the coast.[166]

The Palmarians' survival owed to their ability to adapt and extract reliable sources of food and medicine from their surroundings.[167] Although enslaved Africans in Northeastern Brazil had encountered languages and cultural traditions that were relatively unknown to them, the plantation landscapes in which they lived and worked and the tropical forests to which scores of bondsmen fled were already teeming with familiar crops, cultivars, and weeds.[168] Scholars have demonstrated how the transatlantic diffusion of peoples, plants, animals, and pathogens known as the "Columbian Exchange" contributed to the floristic homogenization of Brazilian and West African landscapes.[169] Within a century of the Age of Discovery, most major crop plants and medicinal species, as well as livestock, fowl, and domesticated animals, had been transplanted throughout the tropics.[170] In fact, more than two-thirds of plant families that occur in Africa are also found in South America and the two continents share approximately 700 different

[164] Milton Cezar Ribeiro et al., "The Brazilian Atlantic Rainforest: How Much Is Left, and How Is the Remaining Forest Distributed? Implications for Conservation " *Biological Conservation* 142 (2009).
[165] Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888*, 139.
[166] Cheney, *Quilombo Dos Palmares: Brazil's Lost Nation of Fugitive Slaves*, 32.
[167] Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888*, 139.
[168] Robert Voeks, "Ethnobotany of Brazil's African Diaspora: The Role of Floristic Homogenization," in *African Ethnobotany in the Americas*, ed. Robert Voeks and John Rashford (New York: Springer, 2013), 407.
[169] Ibid., 395. For the "Columbian Exchange," see Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (New York: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1972).
[170] Voeks, *Sacred Leaves of Candomblé: African Magic, Medicine, and Religion in Brazil*, 22.

plants at the level of genus.[171] As geographer Robert Voeks has shown, the homogenization of second-growth forests, subsistence garden plots (*roças*), plantations, trails, and other anthropogenic habitats enabled African slaves and their descendants to "reassemble their ethnobotanical traditions" in Brazil.[172]

Palmarinos adapted a panoply of esculent and medicinal plants that migrated back and forth across the Atlantic Ocean and beyond.[173] Many of the cultivars which runaways harvested or extracted in the rainforest surrounding the zona da mata were of African origin.[174] Others originated in the Americas and Eurasia but were already familiar to West African slaves.[175] For example, a Portuguese military officer observed the Palmarians' adaptation of African palm fruits, palm wine, and palm oil (*dendê*), as well as their use of the coconut palm, which Portuguese traders had introduced to coastal West Africa during the sixteenth century.[176] He wrote:

> The main trees that grow there are wild palm groves, from which Palmares takes its name. These coconut palms are so fertile and abundant that they can be used by humans for all kinds of purposes. [The maroons] mash coconut butter to ferment wine and use palm oil for cooking. They use the palm leaves to roof their huts and to make clothing. They spin the bark fibers to make textiles and string.[177]

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[171] "Ethnobotany of Brazil's African Diaspora: The Role of Floristic Homogenization," 395.
[172] Bruna Farias de Santana, Robert Voeks, and Ligia Silveira Funch, "Ethnomedicinal Survey of a Maroon Community in Brazil's Atlantic Forest," *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 18 (2016): 48.
[173] Freitas, *República De Palmares: Pesquisa, E Comentários Em Documentos Históricos Do Século Xvii*, 20.See also, Voeks, "Ethnobotany of Brazil's African Diaspora: The Role of Floristic Homogenization," 395. Although we do not have ethnoflora data of slave-era maroon communities such as Palmares, a recent study of quilombo-descendant communities (*remanescentes de quilombos*) in Bahia reveals that 49% of the cultivars found in second growth forests, trails, yards, and kitchen gardens were exotic. Santana, Voeks, and Funch, "Ethnomedicinal Survey of a Maroon Community in Brazil's Atlantic Forest," 49. See also, Knight, *Working the Diaspora: The Impact of African Labor on the Anglo-American World, 1650-1850*, 2-3.
[174] Cultivars that originated in Africa and were incorporated by African slaves and their descendants in Brazil include *obí* (kola nut), *dandá* weed (castor bean plant), and the bottled gourd (*cabaça*).
[175] Luís da Câmara Cascudo, *História Da Alimentação No Brasil* (Porto: Museu de Etnografia e História, 1963), 49-50; Voeks, *Sacred Leaves of Candomblé: African Magic, Medicine, and Religion in Brazil*, 22.
[176] Dendê is a fixture of Bahia's *candomblé* community, used to make (among other foods) *acarajé*, black-eyed pea dumplings fried in *dendê* and filled with shrimp. See *Sacred Leaves of Candomblé: African Magic, Medicine, and Religion in Brazil*, 19-20.
[177] Freitas, *República De Palmares: Pesquisa, E Comentários Em Documentos Históricos Do Século Xvii*, 20.

The coconut palm served as the Palmarians' primary natural resource.[178] According to Portuguese sources, runaways ate coconut meat, drank coconut milk, and crafted bowls, cups, and other utensils from coconut shells.[179] They employed native flora for consumptive and medicinal purposes. In 1947, the Bahian historian Edison Carneiro noted that Palmarians crafted hookahs out of coconut shells and bamboo straws to smoke tobacco and a species of hemp known as *fumo Angola*, "which gave them wonderful dreams and soothed their sadness when they missed Africa."[180]

As the zona da mata devoured the coastal rainforest of Pernambuco, fugitive slaves retreated inland to the semi-arid hinterlands.[181] The Palmarians established a network of encampments atop steep rims separated by thorny brush and gushing streams. The semi-arid sertão, marked by hot temperatures, a short rainy season, xeric shrubland, thorn forests (*caatinga*), and desolate savannas (*cerrado*) had long imposed a natural barrier to large-scale European colonization.[182] According to Martha Santos, early efforts by Portuguese settlers and Jesuit missionaries to colonize the region failed to generate large, permanent settlements during the early seventeenth century.[183] The Palmarians gained control of a large swath of the sertão when Ganga Zumba, a fugitive slave born in Angola, united the mocambos under a single confederation sometime during the first half of the seventeenth century.[184] Zumba established the de facto capital, Macaco, on a stony ridge called the Barriga, which the maroons fortified with

[178] Ibid.
[179] Carneiro, *O Quilombo Dos Palmares*, 48.
[180] Ibid.; Cheney, *Quilombo Dos Palmares: Brazil's Lost Nation of Fugitive Slaves*, 36.
[181] Funari and Carvalho, "Palmares: A Rebel Polity through Archaeological Lenses," 26.
[182] Santos, *Cleansing Honor with Blood: Masculinity, Violence, and Power in the Backlands of Northeast Brazil, 1845-1889*, 21.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888*, 139.

stockade fences and pits studded with sharpened stakes.[185] Nonetheless, the natural environment acted as the maroons' most formidable line of defense.

Whereas fugitive slaves had associated the frontier with freedom, colonists viewed the sertão as hell. Portuguese accounts of raids against Palmares detailed harrowing marches through dark forests, razor-sharp grasses, and mosquito-infested bogs.[186] A Portuguese military officer described a failed expedition to destroy Palmares during the 1670s:

> The wilderness is naturally rough and hilly, sown with all varieties of known and unknown trees with such thickness and confusion of branches. Many places are impenetrable to all light. The diversity of thorns and creeping, harmful trees serve to impede our advance. Among the mountains, there are fertile floodplains which are spread out. In the western sertão of Palmares, there are vast fields which can accommodate only pasture and are unsuitable for agriculture.[187]

This account reflected the sentiments of many European colonists, who looked with dread upon the "peculiar" natural environments of the New World.[188] As Katherine McKittrick has shown, colonial authorities described Afro-descendant geographies in particular "as incongruous with humanness."[189]

Portuguese colonists conceded the Palmarinos' mastery of the forbidding backlands. Fernão de Sousa Coutinho, the governor of Pernambuco (r. 1670-1674), referred to the quilombolas as the "lords of the forest." He wrote to the King of Portugal:

> Even after all the progress we have made, our villages remain destroyed and Palmares remains largely intact. The main cause [of the *palmarinos*' success] being the difficulty of the roads, the lack of water, the discomfort of our soldiers, because the mountains are very rugged, and the trees are thick and the bushes equally so…Our men are beleaguered by the excess of labor as by the severity of

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[185] Cheney, *Quilombo Dos Palmares: Brazil's Lost Nation of Fugitive Slaves*, 83.
[186] Freitas, *República De Palmares: Pesquisa, E Comentários Em Documentos Históricos Do Século Xvii*, 19-22.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 5-8.
[189] McKittrick, "Plantation Futures," 6.

> the cold. And because the blacks are lords of those woods and experienced in those mountains, they manage to outlast us.[190]

Though the sertão was dangerous enough to Portuguese colonists, the ways in which the Palmarians controlled the landscape caused even greater alarm.

What little we know about labor regimes, social organization, land tenure practices, and agroecology in Palmares comes from the report of a spy, a slave dispatched to the maroon kingdom by Manuel de Inojosa.[191] Inojosa was a wealthy landowner and veteran of several military expeditions against quilombolas in the sertão.[192] In 1677, Inojosa promised freedom to one of his slaves if he managed to infiltrate Macaco and report back what he saw.[193] The slave completed his mission and spent six months in Palmares. Inojosa sent a detailed report to Lisbon, which was lost; however, another document exists which summarized what the spy had allegedly discovered.[194] He reported:

> Every *negro* who arrives at the *mocambo* fleeing his masters is heard by a council of justice that seeks to know his intentions because they are greatly suspicious and are not won over just because it is a *negro* who has presented himself. But as soon as they certify his good intentions, they give him a woman whom he possesses long with two, three, four, or five other *negros*. Since there are few women, they have adopted this practice to avoid contention…To each of these so-called families the council of leaders gives a piece of land for cultivation and this the woman and the husbands do.
>
> They have these lands, but not as their own because they can't sell them, and they lose them under imprisonment if they fail to plant them as directed by the council of leaders. Among them, everything belongs to all, and nothing belongs to anyone, as the fruits of what they plant and harvest or what they make in their workshops they are obligated to deposit in the hands of the council, which divides to each according to what they need for their sustenance.[195]

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[190] Freitas, *República De Palmares: Pesquisa, E Comentários Em Documentos Históricos Do Século Xvii*, 24.
[191] Cheney, *Quilombo Dos Palmares: Brazil's Lost Nation of Fugitive Slaves*, 38.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid., 38-39.

Scholars should analyze Inojosa's letter to the Crown with caution. Historical documents on black resistance, if they exist at all, are often permeated by a racist vocabulary.[196] The authors typically portrayed black rebellion as a criminal act and used dehumanizing language to justify repression. Nonetheless, correspondence reveals important clues about the nature of maroon communities in Brazil, or at least how white elites perceived them.

Palmarian cultural ecology revealed several fundamental alternatives to the slave-plantation complex in the Brazilian Northeast.[197] First, property was communal and Palmarians worked the land collectively. Unlike the fenced engenhos romanticized by Antonil, maroon communities were typically spread out over a large territory and quilombolas often resided in several villages at a time.[198] The decision to de-centralize the Quilombo dos Palmares was strategic. By spreading their encampments across such a vast expanse, runaway slaves managed to withstand the destruction of a single mocambo. A Portuguese military officer observed this feat, "They [*palmarinos*] do not all live together so that one successful [raid] does not destroy the others. In Palmares, each [family] has their own dwelling, not only for their subsistence but also their security."[199]

Second, men outnumbered women in Palmares and maroon leaders sought to rectify gender imbalance by sanctioning the practice of bigamy.[200] They embarked on expeditions to kidnap women from remote plantations and towns.[201] In part, this helps to explain why Portuguese colonists employed the term *ki'lombo* to describe enclaves of predominately male fugitive slaves that dotted the backlands of Pernambuco. Third, Palmarinos elected a council of

[196] Oslender, *The Geographies of Social Movements*, 102.
[197] Cheney, *Quilombo Dos Palmares: Brazil's Lost Nation of Fugitive Slaves*, 43.
[198] Price, "Refiguring Palmares," 43.
[199] Freitas, *República De Palmares: Pesquisa, E Comentários Em Documentos Históricos Do Século Xvii*, 21.
[200] Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888*, 140.
[201] Price, "Refiguring Palmares," 45; Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888*, 140.

elders to represent the mocambos, which in turn selected a leader to preside over the maroon confederation. Palmares was no Shangri-La. The council presided over a rigid social hierarchy and command economy.[202] Any fugitive slave who sought refuge in Palmares was considered a free man.[203] However, a slave captured by maroons and brought to the quilombo remained a slave, although the slave was allowed to purchase his or her freedom.[204] The council of elders gave strict instructions to each member about what to plant and divided the fruits of their garden among the quilombo as a whole.[205]

Colonists expressed conflicting views regarding the Palmarians' subsistence achievements. On one hand, authorities acknowledged the maroons' resourcefulness and technical expertise in cultivating crops on rocky soils in harsh conditions.[206] Dom Pedro de Almeida, the governor of Pernambuco (r. 1674-1678), described the Palmarinos as "great laborers" who planted "all the vegetables of the earth," accolades that differed from the prevailing stereotypes of runaway slaves as "idlers" and "vagrants." Just as their predecessors in the Atlantic Forest had adapted and extracted reliable sources of food and medicine, the maroons of the *sertão* capitalized upon a cornucopia of New and Old World flora.[207] Many of the food staples used by Palmarians in the hinterlands were previously domesticated by indigenous peoples in Brazil, such as *milho grosso* (thick corn) and *mandioca* (cassava).[208] African and Eurasian crops, seeds, and roots were vital to the collective efforts of fugitive slaves to secure

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[202] Funari and Carvalho, "Palmares: A Rebel Polity through Archaeological Lenses," 30. See alsoEnnes, *As Guerras Nos Palmares*.
[203] Funari and Carvalho, "Palmares: A Rebel Polity through Archaeological Lenses," 27-28.
[204] Ibid., 30.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Many enslaved Africans in Brazil were drawn from societies that were every bit as advanced as their European captors in the areas of agriculture, animal husbandry and metallurgy. See Voeks, *Sacred Leaves of Candomblé: African Magic, Medicine, and Religion in Brazil*, 42-43.
[207] Voeks, "Ethnobotany of Brazil's African Diaspora," 395.
[208] Carney and Rosomoff, *Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World*, 102; Freitas, *República De Palmares: Pesquisa, E Comentários Em Documentos Históricos Do Século Xvii*, 20-25.

subsistence in the hinterlands, as well.[209] For example, Dutch military records from the 1630s demonstrate the Palmarians had planted the *banana pacova* (horn plantain), a dietary staple of Bantu-controlled equatorial Africa and the birthplace of a large segment of the maroon kingdom's population.[210] European Colonists in Brazil recognized the utility of African and New World cultivars, incorporating these and other native and exotic food staples and medicinal plants into their diets and pharmacopoeia.[211]

On the other hand, large landowners in the Brazilian Northeast largely held subsistence agriculture in low esteem. As this chapter has demonstrated, colonial authorities elaborated a hierarchy of agricultural production. On the Atlantic coast, colonists prioritized sugar cane monoculture and to a lesser extent tobacco and cacao.[212] Sugarcane production took place on the most fertile soils. However, as Judith Carney explains, subsistence agriculture took place in "marginal environments on rocky soils affected by poor drainage and acidity or in degraded areas such as eroded ravines and mountain slopes."[213] Widespread famine throughout the Brazilian Northeast, of which slaves were often victims, reflected planters' skewed priorities.[214] Mauricio de Nassau, the governor of Pernambuco during the Dutch occupation, responded to food shortages by commanding mill owners to produce cassava flour (*farinha*) on their estates.[215] His decree bore little effect. Dutch soldiers resorted to plundering the Palmarians' *roças* and granaries to sate their hunger.[216] "We filled our bins with dried flour and beans to go home with," Captain Jon Blaer of Holland wrote in 1643.[217] "Then we burned Palmares along with all

[209] Carney and Rosomoff, *Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World*, 102.
[210] Cheney, *Quilombo Dos Palmares: Brazil's Lost Nation of Fugitive Slaves*, 71.
[211] Santana, Voeks, and Funch, "Ethnomedicinal Survey of a Maroon Community in Brazil's Atlantic Forest."
[212] Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society*, 83.
[213] Carney and Rosomoff, *Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World*, 134.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Schwartz, *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels: Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery* 84-85.
[216] Freitas, *República De Palmares: Pesquisa, E Comentários Em Documentos Históricos Do Século Xvii*, 166.
[217] Ibid.

the houses around and the things we found inside, which included basins, baskets, and pots made right there."[218]

Colonial authorities in Pernambuco further derided maroon agroecology and practices of land tenure as obstacles to the colonization of the hinterlands. Although many colonists had considered the sertão to be "dangerous" and "unhealthy," the Crown nevertheless grew to depend on the hinterlands to feed Brazil's population during the late seventeenth century.[219] Settlers introduced cattle ranching to the sertão during the 1570s to stimulate colonization in a vast frontier region that was unsuitable for sugarcane monoculture.[220] Cattle herds in the hinterlands ultimately became essential to the sugarcane economy on the coast, providing power for mills, milk and meat protein for the workforce, manure for fuel, and leather for myriad purposes.[221] Ranching was dominated by large landowners and religious orders that obtained royal land grants of hundreds of square kilometers.[222] The São Francisco River Valley of western Bahia emerged as the artery of the Northeast's ranching economy.[223] In 1710, André João Antonil estimated that Bahia contained more than 1,300,000 head of cattle to supply cities and plantations on the coast and the developing mines in Minas Gerais.[224] However, in Pernambuco, the threat of maroon raids inhibited Portuguese efforts to colonize the sertão.[225]

Portuguese colonists deployed slave hunters and militias to evict the Palmarians from landscapes where they "did not belong" and eradicate their alternative agro-ecological systems.

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[218] Ibid.
[219] Santos, *Cleansing Honor with Blood: Masculinity, Violence, and Power in the Backlands of Northeast Brazil, 1845-1889*, 21. See also, Eve Buckley, *Technocrats and the Politics of Drought and Development in Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 16-18.
[220] Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society*, 89.
[221] Buckley, *Technocrats and the Politics of Drought and Development in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, 17.
[222] Santos, *Cleansing Honor with Blood: Masculinity, Violence, and Power in the Backlands of Northeast Brazil, 1845-1889*, 21.
[223] Carvalho, Doria, and Jr., *O Quilombo Do Rio Das Rãs: Histórias, Tradições, Lutas*, 86-87.
[224] Ibid., 87.
[225] Freitas, *República De Palmares: Pesquisa, E Comentários Em Documentos Históricos Do Século Xvii*, 24-26.

Palmares was under constant attack throughout much of its long history.[226] The Dutch organized three expeditions against Palmares and after the Portuguese regained control of Pernambuco in 1654, the assaults against the quilombo continued.[227] According to Stuart Schwartz, there was a military expedition against Palmares every year between 1672 and 1680.[228] The onslaught forced Ganga Zumba to sue for peace in 1678. Much like maroon communities in Jamaica, Suriname, Colombia, and Mexico, the Palmarians pledged fealty to the Portuguese in exchange for recognition of their freedom.[229] Zumba's nephew, Zumbi, rejected his uncle's policy of accommodation and led an uprising that culminated in Zumba's assassination in 1678. In 1693, Portuguese military officer Jorge Domingos Velho amassed a fighting force of 6,000 volunteers to eradicate the maroon kingdom once and for all.

The Portuguese strategy to defeat Palmares centered on the destruction of the maroons' lifeline: their *roças* (subsistence garden plots). In 1693, Governor João da Cunha Sottomaior urged Domingos Velho to demoralize the "lords of the forest" by burning their provision grounds, granaries, and villages. He wrote:

> Mercenaries are making cruel war against on the negroes, against whom there has already been some success from which it may be hoped that with the help of God the negroes will be dislodged from the Barriga Mountain and their fields incapacitated, without which they cannot sustain themselves or preserve the site and as a consequence all the other *mocambos* and quilombos in the *sertão*.[230]

Authorities made clear their intentions to remove all obstacles to the colonization of the sertão. Pedro de Almeida unveiled his vision for the sertão in a letter to King Pedro II. He wrote, "The

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[226] Schwartz, *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels: Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery* 123.
[227] Ibid.
[228] Ibid.
[229] See Jane Landers, "African Ethnicity, Corporate Identity, and the Evolution of Free Black Towns in the Spanish Circum-Caribbean," in *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Jane Landers and Barry Robinson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006); Price, *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*.
[230] Ennes, *As Guerras Nos Palmares*, 235.

mountains will be free where they had been impenetrable to all diligence. The settlers will find themselves safe, their farms larger, the roads unblocked. That we shall reclaim the backlands, its timber, and its vast pasture for cattle."[231]

In March 1694, Portuguese forces breached the walls of the fortified city of Macaco, capturing and killing scores of quilombolas. Zumbi, several members of his family, and a dozen men escaped to a mocambo near the Paraíba River in what is today the city of Viçosa, residing there for nearly two years. On November 20, 1695, a Portuguese flank commanded by Captain André Furtado de Mendonça ambushed the hideout, capturing and executing Zumbi. In Recife, Caetano de Melo e Castro, the governor of Pernambuco, ordered Mendonça to fasten Zumbi's head to a stake "in the most public area to satisfy the offended and justly aggrieved" and "to frighten the blacks who believed him immortal."[232] The defeat of Palmares came at great expense to the Portuguese Crown. Nonetheless, Melo e Castro assured his king that victory had been worth the price. He reported, "The lands that were held by Palmares and are free with its total destruction are of the greatest value and importance in all of Pernambuco. They are vast, abundant for cattle pasture and logging. They offer land for the construction of sugar plantations and have the capacity to produce all kinds of food crops. There is no doubt that your Majesty will be able to settle such lands."[233]

[231] Cheney, *Quilombo Dos Palmares: Brazil's Lost Nation of Fugitive Slaves*, 138.
[232] Freitas, *República De Palmares: Pesquisa, E Comentários Em Documentos Históricos Do Século Xvii*, 133.
[233] Ibid., 135-36.

Chapter Two:

Quilombos and Slave Society in Nineteenth-Century Brazil

In 1824, the police chief of Rio de Janeiro, Estevão Ribeiro de Rezende, wrote to the Brazilian minister of justice to complain about fugitive slaves who had gathered in the Tijuca forest surrounding Rio's Northern Zone.[234] The political violence and weakened authority that resulted from Brazil's independence struggle created opportunities for thousands of slaves to escape to the mountains, forests, and swamps bordering the imperial capital.[235] Although maroons engaged in subsistence farming, hunting, and fishing for their survival, they also carried out "highway robberies" to the dismay of local officials.[236] The presence of quilombos in Tijuca caused such panic that members of the first Brazilian Constituent Assembly called for "emergency measures" to confront the threat to public safety. Yet military campaigns against quilombos often failed because tavern keepers (*taberneiros*) and free blacks frequently alerted the runaways in advance to the impending raids.

Rio's police chief complained: "As long as expeditions are launched with military fanfare, they [quilombolas] will always be given this kind of warning. The reason for is this that, both day and night, the fugitives carry on a regular trade with tavern-keepers and other black men and women in the city, who transport and sell the stolen goods which the fugitives acquire from country houses and from highway robbery."[237]

A police report of attacks on maroon communities in the Amazon Valley during the 1850s reveals a similar pattern.[238] The quilombos had managed to evade authorities for several

[234] Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, 381-84.
[235] Ibid., 381.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid.
[238] Ibid.

decades; they were located in inhospitable places but with relative access to population centers; and they maintained friendly relations with free neighbors.[239] A law enforcement official wrote:

> The sites of these encampments appear to be carefully chosen to guard against a surprise attack. The fugitives are said to be industrious in the cultivation of rice, cassava, and Indian corn, and in the manufacture of charcoal. They make canoes and boats, or small sailing vessels, which are used for interior trade. They carry on traffic with the inferior class of tradesmen in the neighboring towns, exchanging the produce of their labor for certain necessities, such as gunpowder and shot, cloth and soap, etc. Some of them are frequently known to venture into the city of Pará at night, where they have occasionally been taken and claimed by their owners, who endeavor to sell them, but find generally much difficulty in doing so, the freedom of their wandering life unfitting them for slavery.[240]

Although geographical inaccessibility was critical for their survival, quilombos, whether in Rio de Janeiro or the Amazon, forged dynamic links with dominant society, demonstrating their fundamentally adaptive capacities as historical actors.[241]

Quilombos were never cultural isolates frozen in an African past.[242] Rather, it was their interface with slave society that explains both their survival and persecution by elites. Drawing from correspondence between slaveowners and authorities, Chapter Two explores the interface of maroon communities in Brazil with the slave order. Far from being isolated from rural society, quilombos formed near farms, mills, mines, and even cities.[243] They traded with their neighbors, exchanging agricultural products and gold for weapons, gunpowder, clothes, soap, kerosene, and other supplies.[244] Trade facilitated the formation of an information network that warned fugitive

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[239] Ibid., 389.
[240] Ibid.
[241] Gomes, *Mocambos E Quilombos: Uma História Do Campesinato Negro No Brasil*; "Quilombos of Rio De Janeiro in the Nineteenth Century."; Almeida, *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias*; Landers, "African Ethnicity, Corporate Identity, and the Evolution of Free Black Towns in the Spanish Circum-Caribbean."
[242] For research of maroon communities as repositories of "Africanness," see Pita, *História Da América Portuguesa*; Rodrigues, *Os Africanos No Brasil* ; Ramos, *O Negro No Brasil: Etnografia Religiosa E Psicanálise*; Carneiro, *O Quilombo Dos Palmares*; Kent, "Palmares: An African State in Brazil."; Abdias do Nascimento, *O Quilombismo: Documentos De Uma Militância Negra Pan-Africanista* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1980).
[243] See Araújo, *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*; Gomes, "Quilombos of Rio De Janeiro in the Nineteenth Century," 19-21; Carlos Magno Guimarães, "Mining, Quilombos, and Palmares: Minas Gerais in the Eighteenth Century," ibid.; Matthias Rohrig Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," ibid.
[244] Flávio dos Santos Gomes, "Quilombos of Rio De Janeiro in the Nineteenth Century," ibid., 232-38.

slaves of the movements of slave catchers (*capitães de mato*) and armed troops.[245] Further, commercial exchanges enabled runaways to cement strategic alliances with slaves, free blacks, and even local authorities.[246] Elites reviled quilombos because they often provided sanctuary to others fleeing Brazil's system of land concentration and coercive labor, including peasants, Indians, vagrants, criminals, and military deserters.[247] As this chapter will show, quilombolas in the northeastern province of Maranhão participated alongside other subaltern groups in plotting revolts and staging rebellions throughout the nineteenth century. The threat of an alliance of maroons, slaves, free blacks, and army deserters impelled military assaults against quilombos until the abolition of slavery in 1888. Like the previous chapter, the goal of Chapter Two is to trace out arcs of continuity and change in how rural black communities have struggled to defend their autonomy. Whereas the last chapter focused on geographic mastery, this will focus on social networks.

1. "The Campo Negro": Fugitive Slave Communities and their Links to Dominant Society

Historian Flávio dos Santos Gomes introduced the concept of the *campo negro* ("black countryside") to refute the image of quilombos as cultural isolates frozen in an African past.[248] The *campo negro* represented a physical and metaphysical space produced and reproduced by maroons, plantation slaves, freed blacks (*libertos*), and other subaltern groups living on the

[245] Carlos Magno Guimarães, "Mining, Quilombos, and Palmares: Minas Gerais in the Eighteenth Century," ibid., 135; Luiza Rios Ricci Volpato, "Quilombos in Mato Grosso: Black Resistance in a Border Area," ibid., 193.
[246] Almeida, *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias*, 38; Araújo, *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*.
[247] Almeida, *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias*, 38; Araújo, *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*, 34.
[248] Gomes, "Quilombos of Rio De Janeiro in the Nineteenth Century," 238.In the English translation of Flávio dos Santos Gomes and João José Reis's book, *Liberdade por um fio: História dos quilombos no Brasil* (1996), the term "*campo negro*" appears as "black encampment." I introduce a different translation, "the black landscape," which suggests the existence of both a physical and metaphysical space in which maroons coexisted with plantation slaves, free blacks, peasants, and even slaveowners.

margins of rural society.[249] Gomes's 1995 essay, "Quilombos of Rio de Janeiro in the Nineteenth Century," revealed that runaway slaves forged relationships and extensive commercial linkages with merchants, plantation slaves, and even *fazendeiros* (ranchers/plantation owners) residing in the Iguaçu lowlands near Guanabara Bay.[250] Gomes argues these contacts formed the basis of a larger web of interests, "of which the quilombolas knew how to take crucial advantage to ensure the maintenance of their autonomy."[251] The quilombos of Iguaçu—like the majority of maroon communities in Brazil— supported themselves through subsistence agriculture.[252] Yet they were also reliable producers of agricultural commodities such as firewood and sugarcane. Further, quilombolas maintained informal trade relations with traveling salesmen, peddlers, peasants, households, slaves, tenant farmers, and tavern owners. Through their subsistence activities and trade, quilombolas formed an underground world that interacted with the slave order.[253]

In 1859, the provincial president of Rio de Janeiro pressed his police chief to adopt coercive measures to prevent trade between tavern owners and quilombolas in Iguaçu. He wrote: "I call upon police authorities of Iguaçu, Pilar, and Jacutinga to put in place preventive measures for gathering intelligence [from tavern owners] because they are close to the locations of several quilombos. The tavern owners are most interested in maintaining relations with the blacks, with whom they trade on a large scale in mangrove wood, which fetches a high price at the Court, and giving [to the quilombolas] in exchange wood canoes, liquor, and food supplies of small value."[254] Still, repression failed to produce the desired results. In 1876, a local newspaper reported that merchants, tavern owners, and sailors in Guanabara Bay had "continued to take

[249] Ibid., 232-38.
[250] Ibid., 238.
[251] Ibid.
[252] Ibid., 239.
[253] Ibid., 242.See also, Sidney Mintz, "A Note on the Defnintion of Peasantries," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 1, no. 1 (1973).
[254] Gomes, "Quilombos of Rio De Janeiro in the Nineteenth Century," 234.

advantage of this lucrative trade, always spreading terrifying news about the quilombolas to scare off the competition."[255]

Far beyond Rio de Janeiro, in the northern province of Maranhão, tropical rainforests harbored several quilombos comprising between 200 and 600 people during the early decades of the nineteenth century.[256] These enclaves were settled by fugitive slaves that escaped the gold mines that dotted the shores of the Maracassumé and Gurupi rivers.[257] In addition to hunting, fishing, and subsistence agriculture, quilombolas raised cattle and sold tobacco and cotton.[258] They also prospected for alluvial gold.[259] According to historian Matthias Röhrig Assunção, quilombos in Maranhão did not merely barter with rural populations living on the margins of slave society; they established a veritable gold trading network linking peddlers, merchants, and even *fazendeiros* in the coastal towns of Santa Helena, Carutapera, and Turiaçu.[260]

In 1853, Eduardo Olímpio Machado, the provincial president of Maranhão, informed the provincial assembly of trade between free persons and quilombolas in the *Baixada Ocidental Maranhense*, a remote, tropical wetlands covered by rainforests and crisscrossed by the Turiaçu, Gurupi, and Maracassumé rivers.[261] "The slaves who inhabited the first of these *quilombos* supported themselves from the yield of the mines, which they traded in Santa Helena and other places for food, ammunition, and dry goods," Machado told legislators. "They had gathered

[255] Ibid.
[256] Matthias Rohrig Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," ibid., 382.
[257] Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, 386-89; Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," 382.
[258] Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*.#386-389
[259] Ibid., 386.
[260] Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," 382.
[261] Projeto Vida de Negro, *Terras De Preto No Maranhão: Quebrando O Mito Do Isolamento* (São Luís: SMDH/CCN-MA/PVN, 2002), 39-41.

themselves together in a regular village, and they maintained relations with peddlers and people of nearby population centers."[262]

Even more alarming, Machado accused merchants of shielding runaway slaves from authorities. He explained, "In view of the information that has been presented to me there is no question that the blacks were encouraged in their attempts to resist by some merchants who carried on trade with them. You are aware of the great necessity of providing an example which will root out such dangerous commercial relations."[263] In his speech to the provincial assembly, Machado announced that police had apprehended four merchants accused of trading with quilombolas: Marcellino José da Costa Ramos, Isidoro Francisco de Oliveira, Theodoro Sudré, and Mariano Gil.[264] As we will see later, links between free persons and runaway slaves unsettled authorities throughout Brazil.

2. "Information Networks"

Through trade, quilombos cemented strategic alliances with other subaltern groups and even slaveowners throughout Brazil. A frequent complaint of colonial authorities in Minas Gerais had been the existence of an "information network" that warned fugitive slaves of the movements of slave catchers (*capitães de mato*) and armed troops.[265]According to historian Carlos Magno Guimarães, information flowed from the *senzalas* (slaves quarters) of mining camps and cattle ranches to the quilombos in the hinterlands.[266] The threat of an alliance between slaves and quilombolas was particularly alarming to slaveowners in eighteenth-century Minas

[262] Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, 386-89.
[263] Ibid., 388.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Guimarães, "Mining, Quilombos, and Palmares: Minas Gerais in the Eighteenth Century," 132-35.
[266] Ibid., 135.

Gerais, where almost 40 percent of the population were slaves and the vast majority of whom were men.[267]

In 1759, the military officer Bartolomeu Bueno do Prado reported that his campaign against Campo Grande, the largest quilombo in colonial Minas Gerais, had failed because slaves had informed the quilombolas in advance of his deployment.[268] A decade later, in 1769, the Count of Valadares and governor of Minas Gerais ordered his auxiliary captain, Manoel Rodrigues da Costa, to investigate "the Azevedo farm and other farms as well" based on suspicion that slaves had harbored or disseminated intelligence to quilombolas residing in Campo Grande and throughout the Canastra Mountains.[269] In 1773, Commander Manoel Gouveau wrote to Governor Liberato José Cordeiro to confirm rumors of possible collusion between slaves and the Campo Grande maroons. He professed: "After reliable reports that there were fugitive blacks in the *sertão* of Crumatahy (sic), I went to the ranch of Francisco Antônia and, thinking the slaves spoke to and communicated with the fugitive blacks, I intended to search the *senzalas* of its slaves, who were armed and hindered [our investigation], possessing the temerity to resist us."[270]

Not only did slaves provide runaways with information, they also lent material assistance and sometimes participated alongside quilombolas in their raiding activities.[271] In 1795, the farmer Marcelino Costa Gonçalves wrote to the governor of Minas Gerais to request military assistance to apprehend quilombolas and slaves from neighboring ranches that had sacked his farm. He explained:

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[267] Kathleen Higgins, *Licentious Liberty in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region: Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabará, Minas Gerais* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1999), 38.
[268] Ibid.
[269] Guimarães, "Mining, Quilombos, and Palmares: Minas Gerais in the Eighteenth Century," 132.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid., 133.

> I write to you with news that quilombolas were accompanied with others from neighboring farms who were cultivating beans and wielding sickles when they attacked, perhaps with the aim of sharing their loot, which was not insignificant, and because, some goods may still appear in the *senzalas* of the aforementioned slaves, those that I suspect have an alliance with the quilombolas, with whom they divided the foodstuffs and goods from the storeroom of their masters or in the houses of their mistress who harbors and favors them.[272]

Quilombolas also forged alliances with freed blacks. Upon assuming the governorship of Minas Gerais in 1736, Gomes Freire de Andrade pledged to take action against other "internal enemies," including "free blacks, mulattoes, and *mamelucos* (*mestizos*)" suspected of supporting quilombos.[273] According to Carlos Magno Guimarães, a frequent target of police repression were "freed slave women who sold foodstuffs."[274] In 1732, King João V himself pressed Governor Andrade to resolve the problem of "freed women who provided black robbers from quilombos with whatever they needed, taking note of persons from whom they will steal and of information on where it is more convenient to enter and leave, which they [the quilombolas] do easily once receiving help and harbor from these black women that work at the *quitandas* (grocery stores)."[275] Decades later, in 1764, Governor Luís Diogo Lobo da Silva enacted a decree that forbade black female street vendors from trading goods in areas known to have harbored quilombolas. Scholars have noted the inherent suspicion with which Brazilian authorities viewed the free black population.[276] As we will later see, elites branded Afro-descendants—-whether enslaved or free—as threats to "public safety."

Members of the police and military sometimes maintained an interest in protecting fugitive slaves, as well. In 1781, police raided the residence of Lieutenant Antônio Muniz de

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[272] Ibid.
[273] Ibid., 134.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Ibid., 134-36.
[276] Chalhoub, "The Precariousness of Freedom in a Slave Society (Brazil in the Nineteenth Century)."; João José Reis, *Divining Slavery and Freedom: The Story of Domingos Sodré, an African Priest in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* trans. H. Sabrina Gledhill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Medeiros. According to a police report, authorities had accused Medeiros of operating a "hidden *quitanda* where fugitive blacks and miners would get provisions."[277] Although the lieutenant maintained that only his slaves had purchased goods from the quitanda, neighbors testified that Medeiros's property had long served as a gathering place for rebellious slaves, smugglers, and other outlaws.[278]

Said one informant: "Everyone knew that [Medeiros] sold only to the fugitive blacks and to the miners, to the extent that quilombos [located] near his house never failed to exist, and there was so much freedom that even his female slaves visited the quilombo in broad daylight to talk to fugitive blacks."[279] According to Guimarães, what was exceptional about the Medeiros case was not that a free individual had protected quilombolas, but the fact that this individual was a slave owner.[280] Perhaps Medeiros's motivation for harboring fugitive slaves—in addition to profiting from their trade—was to prevent his own slaves from escaping to nearby quilombos.[281] In fact, the Medeiros case exposes fissures within the slave-plantation-mining complex: the bottom rungs of Brazilian society—and low-level slave owners in particular—felt little reason to comply with the directives of local elites and law enforcement.

3. "Sanctuary"

Elites further reviled quilombolas because they provided sanctuary to others seeking refuge from Brazil's system of land concentration and coercive labor, including free blacks, Indians, vagabonds, outlaws, and especially military deserters.[282] According to historian Peter

[277] Guimarães, "Mining, Quilombos, and Palmares: Minas Gerais in the Eighteenth Century," 135.
[278] Ibid.
[279] Ibid., 136.
[280] Ibid.
[281] Peter M. Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1864-1945* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001), 6.
[282] Ibid. Alfredo Wagner Berno de Almeida, *Terras De Preto, Terras De Santo, E Terras De Índio: Posse Comum E Conflito* (Belém: NAEA/UFPA, 1989); *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias.*

Beattie, military impressment made enlisted army service in Brazil a "semi-coercive labor system and proto-penal institution."[283] Those subject to impressment included the "dishonorable" and unprotected sectors of marginal society, including government-owned slaves, freed slaves, unskilled laborers, petty criminals, vagrants, drunkards, and "sodomites."[284] During the Paraguayan War (1864-1870), the largest military conflict in South American history, the Brazilian government conducted massive recruitment sweeps to dragoon tens of thousands of poor persons into military service.[285] In 1864, President Francisco Solano López of Paraguay launched an invasion of southern Mato Grosso after opposition factions supported by Brazil and Argentina forced Paraguay's political allies in Uruguay from power.[286] Emperor Pedro II of Brazil responded by escalating the impressment of poor men of serving age into military service.[287] Brazil's ill-preparedness for wartime mobilization and catastrophic losses on the battlefield provoked thousands of *voluntários* (volunteers) and *recrutados* (dragooned servicemen) to flee to the vast wilderness surrounding military encampments.[288]

Deserters found safe haven and made common cause with quilombos.[289] The sparsely populated wetlands of Mato Grosso province, a large frontier region bordering Bolivia and Paraguay in the Center West of Brazil, witnessed high degrees of cooperation between army deserters and quilombolas.[290] Vast numbers of recrutados escaped to the hinterlands, seeking shelter in existing quilombos that were eager to take advantage of their situation.[291] According to historian Luiza Rios Ricci Volpato, the quilombolas "knew how to receive and attract the

[283] Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1864-1945*, 6.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Ibid.
[286] Volpato, "Quilombos in Mato Grosso: Black Resistance in a Border Area," 194.
[287] Ibid.
[288] Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1864-1945*, 45.
[289] Volpato, "Quilombos in Mato Grosso: Black Resistance in a Border Area," 194.
[290] Ibid.
[291] Ibid., 195.

deserters to their villages."[292] Maroons welcomed army deserters because they furnished them with weapons, supplies, and critical intelligence about military operations and the location of troops.[293]

Emboldened quilombolas seized the opportunity to sack vulnerable ranches, farms, and population centers.[294] In 1865, provincial authorities in Mato Grosso alerted Rio de Janeiro to the threat of a deserter-maroon alliance: "In addition to the [quilombo] of Sepotuba, which has existed for a over a century, there are still [the quilombos of] Rio Manso, Roncador, and Serra Dourada that contain large numbers of slaves and perhaps quite a few deserters. Since 1860, for lack of troops, it has not been possible to destroy them, which has had led to great destruction to ranches that languished for lack of arms."[295]

Quilombolas attacked army convoys sent to hunt deserters.[296] In 1865, "hundreds of men armed with guns and knives" attacked army escorts near the quilombo of Sepotuba, which stood close to the border with Bolivia along the Sepotuba River. According to a police report, the marauders were comprised of "defectors from several brigades of 1st category National Guards, criminals and slaves."[297] Quilombolas kidnapped and eventually released two officers who led the escort: Captain Joaquim José Villas-boas and Private Antônio Vieira d'Azevedo of the National Guard.[298] Villas-boas informed his superior that, "there were more than 200 men who stand ready to resist any force dispatched from [the village of] Vila Maria and that they could come and take the same post if they wished."[299]

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[292] Ibid., 194.
[293] Ibid., 195.
[294] Ibid.
[295] Ibid., 194.
[296] Ibid., 195.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Ibid.
[299] Ibid., 196.

Elsewhere in Mato Grosso province, quilombolas and deserters attacked army outposts located alongside the Manso River near Cuiabá. The police chief of Cuiabá confronted a dilemma. By diverting *praças* (troops) to attack quilombos, local officials drained the National Guard of troops needed to repel the Paraguayan invasion. The police chief explained his predicament to the president of Mato Grosso province:

> It is known that there is a large quilombo near the headwaters of the Manso River to which runaway slaves of this capital and other neighboring districts continue to flee to, as well as army deserters and criminals. According to the communication the I have just received from the Chief of Police of Rosário, these slaves and deserters have the habit of going to this village [Rosário], from which they guide women to the quilombo; I consider necessary to take whatever steps to conquer it, so that we may avoid more severe occurrences. However, because this inconvenient situation threatens to distract our armed forces from the war effort, I propose that Your Excellency increase the detachment of this *vila* by marshaling 50 soldiers commanded by an officer.[300]

As we will see, bonds of solidarity between fugitive slaves, deserters, and poor persons of color terrified elites throughout the Brazilian Empire.

4. Quilombos, Political Conspiracies, and Social Upheaval

Elites found quilombos threatening because they planned rebellions alongside other groups. For instance, in colonial Minas Gerais, authorities lived in constant fear of an uprising organized by free Africans residing in towns and quilombolas residing in the surrounding hinterlands.[301] In Bahia, slaves, free Africans, and quilombolas staged eleven revolts in the city of Salvador and the surrounding plantations between 1807 and 1835.[302] Fugitive slaves played leading roles in the Balaiada Rebellion that shook Maranhão between 1838 and 1841.[303] The Balaiada, the largest revolutionary movement in Maranhão's history, began when rancher

[300] Ibid., 197.
[301] Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, 394-97.
[302] Ibid., 401.
[303] Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," 394-97.

Manoel Francisco dos Anjos Ferreira, nicknamed "the *balaio*" (basket), rallied a group of poor farmers who stormed a jail in the town of Manga to free his son and other young men who had been pressed into military service.[304] Scores of plantation slaves seized upon the rebellion to escape to the rainforest to form quilombos. Cosme Bento das Chagas, a fugitive slave known as "Maranhão's Zumbi," commanded an army of 3,000 quilombolas that invaded plantations and liberated slaves throughout the Baixada Ocidental Maranhense. Although Luis Alves de Lima, a renowned military commander and future Duke of Caxias, crushed Cosme's guerrillas, the specter of an uprising uniting maroons, freed blacks, and the poor population of color loomed large over seigneurial elites in Maranhão throughout the nineteenth century.

The next section of this chapter traces the emergence and repercussions of the 1867 Maroon Revolt in the town of Viana, the last fugitive slave rebellion in Maranhão's history. The uprising coincided with the escalation of recruitment sweeps of poor persons into military service during the Paraguayan War, coercive actions which fueled popular resentment toward local authorities and large landowners. It also took place in the aftermath of the U.S. Civil War, the reverberations of which were acutely felt by slaves and slaveowners alike in distant Maranhão.[305] As Vitor Izecksohn has shown, the end of the U.S. Civil War signaled a death knell to the cotton industry in Maranhão, causing economic ruin for planters and fueling speculation that slavery's days in Brazil were numbered.[306] By analyzing the 1867 Maroon Uprising, we can examine how quilombolas made common cause with enslaved and free neighbors alike and how the collusion of quilombos with sectors of frontier society incited panic throughout the countryside.

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[304] Ibid., 397.
[305] Vitor Izecksohn, *Slavery and War in the Americas: Race, Citizenship, and State Building in the United States and Brazil, 1861-1870* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2014), 128-40.
[306] Ibid.

5. The 1867 Maroon Insurrection in Viana, Maranhão

At nightfall on July 7, 1867, hundreds of maroons armed with rifles, bows and arrows, and torches marched from the quilombo of São Benedito do Céu through thick jungle to the outskirts of Viana in northwestern Maranhão.[307] On July 8, the men occupied Fazenda Santa Bárbara, detained the administrator, and liberated scores of slaves.[308] On July 9, they stormed the sugar mill at Timbó, seizing weapons and ammunition.[309] That same day, the quilombolas sacked Vila Nova de Anadia, stealing weapons and ammunition, as well as food, clothing, and horses from stables and general stores.[310] They spent the night at Fazenda São José and returned to Fazenda Santa Bárbara on July 10.[311] The maroons forced the administrator of Santa Bárbara, Captain Placidio Mello dos Santos, to write a letter to authorities demanding "freedom for the slaves of Viana."[312] The manifesto read: "As it is our desire to be equal to everyone and do harm to nobody, we await this freedom in Santa Bárbara and if it does not arrive by the 15th of the coming month, we will have no choice but to take up arms and go there [to Viana] ourselves. Your Lordships should be aware that we carry a thousand firearms and all of the gentiles' [Indians] bows and arrows for defending ourselves and our freedom."[313]

The uprising was short-lived. On July 11, a National Guard detachment of 120 troops surrounded Fazenda Sánta Barbara, forcing dozens of quilombolas to retreat to the rainforest, including the leader of the insurrection, Daniel de Araújo.[314] The next day, reinforcements drove the remaining maroons from Santa Bárbara, capturing several fugitive slaves: Benedito, Vicente,

[307] Araújo, *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*, 39.
[308] Ibid., 39-40.
[309] Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," 384.
[310] Ibid.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Araújo, *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*, 44.
[314] Ibid.

Martiniano, Severino, and Feliciano Corta-Mato.[315] Under torture, the prisoners revealed the location of São Benedito do Céu, a quilombo situated on the headwaters of the Bonito River, a three-days march from Viana.[316] On July 17, the captive Feliciano Corta-Mato led a detachment comprised of voluntários from the municipalities of Viana, São Bento, and São Vicente Ferrer to São Benedito do Céu.[317] They discovered the quilombo had been abandoned by all but a single survivor: a two-year old boy who cried for his mother.[318] Clearly, an information network had alerted members of the community to the impending raid, allowing able-bodied adults to evacuate. The commander ordered his troops to set fire to the "eighty huts and *roças*" that comprised the 700-strong quilombo.[319]

One month later, in August 1867, authorities notified the provincial president of Maranhão, Franklin Américo Menezes Dória, that maroons had returned to São Benedito do Céu "and were already planting cassava."[320] A second detachment departed from São Bento on August 27 and arrived in the quilombo two weeks later.[321] A skirmish broke out between voluntários and quilombolas and there were losses on both sides.[322] Although troops managed to occupy São Benedito do Céu, a shortage of supplies ultimately forced them to retreat.[323] The conflict between quilombolas and fazendeiros in in the Baixada Ocidental Maranhense reached a stalemate. While maroons never again managed to stage an insurrection against the seigneurial class, paramilitary forces failed to eradicate São Benedito do Céu and neighboring quilombos.[324]

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[315] Ibid.
[316] Ibid., 39.
[317] Ibid., 71.
[318] Ibid., 73.
[319] Ibid., 80-81.
[320] Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," 387.
[321] Ibid.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Araújo, *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*, 117-29.
[324] Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil."

In 1868, the police chief of Viana claimed that the survivors of São Benedito do Céu were "attacked and completely destroyed by a group of wild Indians" on the shores of the Gurupi River.[325] Historian Mundinha Araújo has shown that this account was misleading.[326] Although Indian raids posed a constant danger to quilombos in the region, several survivors, including Daniel de Araújo, the maroon leader who masterminded the invasion of Fazenda Santa Bárbara in 1867, resurfaced a decade later in the quilombo of São Sebastião, located in the river valley of Turiaçu.[327]

Why, after having evaded authorities for almost three decades following the suppression of the Balaiada Rebellion, did hundreds of quilombolas stage an open revolt against fazendeiors in July 1867? The cross examination of prisoners provides several clues. Benedito, a fugitive slave who had escaped to São Benedito do Céu, explained that there was widespread hunger in the quilombo.[328] Martiniano, another runaway who found refuge in São Benedito do Céu, revealed that Indian raiders had repeatedly threatened the community.[329] Benedito and Martiniano further revealed that many of the participants in the revolt had previously toiled as slaves on the plantations of Santa Bárbara, Timbó, and Santo Ignácio. Knowledge of the landscape thus appears to have guaranteed the attack's initial success, while existing friendships and bonds of kinship helped the organizers of the rebellion to gain the support of local slaves.[330]

Moreover, a personal desire for revenge appears to have driven at least several participants to take up arms against their former captors. Historians have long focused on the slaveowners' "personal" ties to house slaves—which purportedly favored their chance of gaining

[325] Ibid., 387.
[326] Araújo, *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*, 132-41.
[327] Ibid.
[328] Ibid., 197.
[329] Ibid., 198.
[330] Ibid.

manumission—but here we see how slaves' intimate ties tailored their treatment of masters and overseers.[331] Martiniano told police how he and his fellow rebels had detained the administrator of Fazenda Santa Bárbara, explaining that "the runaways Cosme, Gregório, and Florêncio, slaves from that very *fazenda*, caught, tied and beat [the administrator], placing him in irons."[332] João Calisto, a freedman who was once enslaved at the Timbó mill, "wanted to knife his (former) master, João, to which some objected saying that they only wanted [to steal] gunpowder and weapons."[333] Yet the Viana insurrection of 1867 transcended the particular animosities of its avengers, uniting maroons, free persons, and slaves against seigneurial elites.

As was the case with the Balaiada, the large-scale impressment of the free poor population into military service during the Paraguayan War deepened resentment toward elites and facilitated the conditions for rebellion.[334] In 1866, the National Guard deployed 1,060 *praças* (troops) from Maranhão province to the front lines.[335] In Curupuru alone, a hamlet located 230 kilometers north of Viana, 200 men were sent to war.[336] Scores of deserters fled to the rainforest and existing quilombos.[337] Poor free men of serving age in the Baixada Ocidental Maranhense were impressed into military service on such a large scale that slaves outnumbered the free population in Maranhão in 1866.[338] Further, as Vitor Izecksohn has shown, conscription of slaves into military service took place in many provinces, such as Maranhão, where the free poor

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[331] See for instance, Zephyr Frank, *Dutra's World: Wealth and Family in Nineteenth-Century Rio De Janeiro* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004); Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *Caetana Says No: Women's Stories from a Brazilian Slave Society* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Higgins, *Licentious Liberty in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region: Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabará, Minas Gerais*; Sidney Chalhoub, *Visões Da Liberdade: Uma História Das Últimas Décadas Da Escravidão Na Corte* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1990).
[332] Araújo, *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*, 198.
[333] Ibid.
[334] Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," 383; Araújo, *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*, 33.
[335] *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*, 27.
[336] Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," 383.
[337] Ibid.
[338] Araújo, *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*, 33-34.

population was small and where difference of color between slaves and the free poor people was slight.[339] In Maranhão, conditions were ripe for rebellion.

With local law enforcement diminished, slaves began to display "signs of defiance and unrest."[340] In April 1867, three months before the insurrection, the police chief of Curupuru asked the vice president of Maranhão province, Manoel Jansen Ferreira, for a suspension of recruitment sweeps to prevent an uprising.[341]

> Your Excellency, 200 men from Curupuru have been recruited to the National Guard and this province has been the first to comply with demands to recruit troops. However, as Your Excellency is well aware, this municipality [Curupuru] is not among the most populous and with the departure of these men due to the constant recruitment, the majority of the population has sought refuge in the vast deserts of Tury-assú where they find food and protection with ease…At the same time, a great number of slaves, who have tried on various occasions to revolt, have to this point been contained. Nevertheless, they continue to act as a threat, which grows worse as more and more [recruits] leave for war. [The slaves] are joined in their schemes by certain [free] farmers. Given these factors, I am obliged to ask for a temporary end to recruitment to ensure the tranquility and security of this district that is greatly threatened.[342]

Quilombolas, plantation slaves, and the unprotected poor could find a common enemy in the coercion that pervaded a slavocratic order and a wartime state: landowners and the authorities that defended their interests.

Rumors swirling about the imminent abolition of slavery during the Paraguayan War added to fears of a race war.[343] The district judge in Viana blamed quilombolas and freed blacks for nurturing the "old hatreds" and "unruly ambitions" of plantation slaves.[344] On July 14, 1867, one week after rebels stormed Fazenda Santa Bárbara, the judge wrote a letter to the provincial

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[339] Izecksohn, *Slavery and War in the Americas: Race, Citizenship, and State Building in the United States and Brazil, 1861-1870*, 137-38.
[340] Assunção, 383.
[341] Araújo, 33-34.
[342] Araújo, *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*, 33-34.
[343] Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," 384. See also, Izecksohn, *Slavery and War in the Americas: Race, Citizenship, and State Building in the United States and Brazil, 1861-1870*, 86-87.
[344] Araújo, *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*, 53.

president of Maranhão explaining that free persons had incited bondsmen to rebel. "The unruly ambition of certain individuals, ambition which seduces slaves into fleeing their masters, is nurtured by those with whom [the slaves] conduct trade. They speak to the slaves only about freedom to the extent that they encourage slaves to kill and to steal, promising protection to those who would carry out such audacious plans."[345] The district judge in Viana, underscoring the severity of the crisis unfolding throughout the province, warned, "What has happened in Viana recalls what happened in Haiti, during the time of the French Revolution, when during the course of three days, all the whites that existed on the continent were killed."[346]

The collusion of quilombos with sectors of frontier society incited panic throughout the Baixada Ocidental Maranhense. Far from being isolated communities, São Benedito do Céu and neighboring quilombos had maintained friendly relations with enslaved and free neighbors. Fugitive slaves established an intricate communication network with slave society that supplied material goods and information.[347] Quilombolas, slaves, and free persons found common cause amid the large-scale impressment of poor men of serving age during the Paraguayan War. Based on the cross examination of prisoners, we can conclude that these distinct groups had planned joint action against fazendeiros culminating in the 1867 Viana insurrection.[348] The perceived threat of quilombos to "property rights" and "public safety" guaranteed that authorities would continue to take action against runaway communities as long as slavery in Brazil flourished.

6. The 1877 Invasion of São Sebastião and Limoeiro

In 1877, the provincial government of Maranhão ordered two major military assaults against quilombos in the Baixada Ocidental Maranhense. Unlike the invasion of São Benedito do

[345] Ibid.
[346] Ibid., 60.
[347] Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," 394.
[348] Ibid.

Céu in 1867, which occurred just two weeks after the uprising in Viana, operations against the quilombos of São Sebastião and Limoeiro took place during a period of relative peace. In fact, the military campaigns coincided with a political climate that favored emancipation. In 1871, the Law of the Free Womb emancipated all children henceforth born of slave mothers, although slaveowners had the option to retain them until the age of twenty-one.[349] The law also required masters to register all of their slaves with local authorities, a measure which historian Walter Fraga has argued was designed to guarantee greater fiscal control over slaveowners.[350] Furthermore, the Law of the Free Womb instituted an emancipation fund to free registered slaves with revenues generated from taxes on enslaved property, fines, the lottery, and allocations from public budgets.[351] Even more alarming to slaveowners, the law legitimized slaves' rights to their savings, the right to free themselves for a stipulated sum, and even to sue masters who refused to allow captives to purchase their freedom, as Sidney Chalhoub has shown.[352] As the political ferment for abolition intensified, anti-quilombo operations continued. Although the return of fugitive slaves to their masters remained a priority, the incursions against quilombos sought increasingly to promote colonization and civilize rural populations whom authorities considered to be "culturally inferior."[353]

In November 1877, Francisco de Sá and Benavides, the provincial president of Maranhão, ordered the National Guard to attack the quilombo of São Sebastião in the Turiaçu River Valley.[354] Major Honorato Cândido Ferreira Caldas, a veteran of several expeditions against maroons and Indians, managed to make contact with Daniel de Araújo, the quilombola

[349] Thomas Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 75.
[350] Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slaves and Freed People in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1910*, 22.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Chalhoub, *Visões Da Liberdade: Uma História Das Últimas Décadas Da Escravidão Na Corte*, 160.
[353] Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," 388. See also, Negro, *Terras De Preto No Maranhão: Quebrando O Mito Do Isolamento*, 39-41.
[354] Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," 388.

leader and organizer of the 1867 insurrection in Viana.[355] The persistent threat of Indian attacks and military raids appear to have convinced Araújo to surrender to Caldas after decades spent living on the run.[356] In exchange for leniency and Caldas's promise of freedom for his family, Araújo and 114 of his companions surrendered to the army at Fort Gurupi.[357] In a letter to the provincial president, Caldas explained:

> I made them see the advantage of abandoning the depths of the forest and leaving that wild existence, especially now that, according to what they tell me, on top of the hardships they have suffered, they lived in fear of the Indians who had already attacked and killed many of their companions. I explained to them the advantages of the [Free Womb Law] and the ease with which a hardworking and industrious slave could gain his freedom nowadays, to say nothing of the difference in treatment that would await [the quilombolas] should they leave voluntarily or end up being captured later.[358]

Caldas's efforts to persuade Daniel de Araújo and his followers to surrender embodied the "carrot and stick" approach to slave management that traced its roots to the colonial period.[359] Masters had long promised leniency and the possibility for slaves to purchase their freedom to cultivate loyalty and prevent rebellion. Furthermore, as scholars have shown, elites continued to invoke arguments based on economic necessity, social order, and the advantages of gradual change to justify slavery on the eve of emancipation.[360] One of the reasons officials were so eager to stamp out quilombos was to seize their lands and provision grounds to promote frontier colonization.

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[355] Negro, *Terras De Preto No Maranhão: Quebrando O Mito Do Isolamento*, 152-53.
[356] Ibid.
[357] Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," 392.
[358] Ibid., 388.
[359] The Brazilian Catholic Church in particular had counseled slave owners "to be firm but fair" in their treatment of slaves. Prominent clergy like Antônio Vieira and André João Antonil prevailed over the Portuguese Crown, which issued an edict in 1701 that called upon slaveowners to give Saturday free to their slaves for the cultivation of *roças* and Sunday's and saints' days so that they might be indoctrinated. See Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, 60-62.
[360] Rebecca Scott, "Exploring the Meaning of Freedom: Post-Emancipation Societies in Comparative Perspective," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68 (1988): 23-54.

Military assaults against quilombos in the Baixada Ocidental Maranhense promoted colonization in a frontier region that had failed to attract substantial numbers of settlers and European immigrants. In 1877, the provincial president of Maranhão sought to relocate evacuees of drought in neighboring Ceará to the Turiaçu River Valley. The Drought of 1877 remains Brazil's worst natural disaster to date. As many as half of Ceará's population of one million died of hunger and disease.[361] Tens of thousands of evacuees crossed the border into Maranhão. The provincial government sought to transform drought refugees into colonists, offering land, housing, and social services in the wetlands between the Gurupi and Maracassumé Rivers.[362] A British firm, the Monte Áureos Gold Mining Company, had previously leased the territory from the Maranhão government during the 1850s.[363] However, the company lost control of the land following a rash of slave desertions and Indian raids. Now the Sá e Benavides administration attempted to establish an agricultural and mining colony on maroon-occupied territory.

In January 1878, Provincial President Sá e Benavides commanded João Manoel da Cunha, the director of Fort Gurupi, to lead an assault against Limoeiro, a network of smaller mocambos that took root on lands previously leased by the Montes Áureos Gold Mining Company.[364] First, Sá e Benavides ordered Cunha to capture the quilombola leader Estevão, wanted for the 1854 murder of Manoel Joaquim de Barros, the overseer at the cotton plantation where Estevão had been enslaved.[365] Police accused Estevão and his *companheiros*—Epifânio,

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[361] See Buckley, *Technocrats and the Politics of Drought and Development in Twentieth-Century Brazil*.
[362] For a compilation of primary sources describing the military raid against Quilombo Limoeiro, see Mundinha Araújo, *A Invasão Do Quilombo Do Limoeiro, 1878* (São Luis: Arquivo Público do Estado do Maranhão, 1992).
[363] Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," 376.
[364] In November 1853, provincial president Eduardo Olimpio Machado commissioned the construction of a military base at Gurupi to contain the formation of *quilombos* in Turiaçu. "Tinha como fim principal evitar que formassem quilombos de pretos fugidos naquelas partes; assim como, que desertores e criminosos da Província do Pará se asilassem na fronteira desta." See Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*.
[365] Araújo, *A Invasão Do Quilombo Do Limoeiro, 1878*, 36.

Cândido, and Agostinho—of killing 17 slaveowners, overseers, and bush captains in the Turiaçu River Valley.[366]

Second, Sá e Benavides ordered Cunha to negotiate a peaceful surrender following recent successful negotiations with quilombolas in São Sebastião.[367] The change in policy took Cunha by surprise. For decades, military assaults against quilombos had demoralized their inhabitants by destroying their subsistence base. In a stunning reversal, Sá e Benavides ordered Cunha to protect dwellings, granaries, and garden plots of quilombolas to shelter and feed between 800 and 850 *cearense* refugees.[368] The provincial president explained, "In order to establish a nucleus of colonization, I recommend to the commander of the military force in charge of defeating the Limoeiro mocambo to make every effort to preserve the dwellings and roças, which I hear are of extraordinary quality, to accommodate the largest possible number of evacuees (*retirantes*) from Ceará."[369] Anthropologist Alfredo Wagner Berno de Almeida summarized the results of Maranhão's new quilombo policy. "The provincial government of Maranhão placed in the home of a quilombola a recent immigrant from Ceará who would 'naturally' use the same mortar and pestle, the same water well, and the same roça."[370]

João Manuel da Cunha arrived in Limoeiro with a battalion of 80 soldiers at four o'clock in the afternoon on January 15, 1878.[371] A quilombola was tending to his roça in the rainforest when he spotted the battalion's advance. The man rushed to the village to warn his neighbors, many of whom were still working in the fields.[372] Cunha described his initial encounter with maroons in Limoeiro in a letter to Sá e Benavides:

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[366] Ibid.
[367] Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," 389.
[368] Araújo, *A Invasão Do Quilombo Do Limoeiro, 1878*, 78-85.
[369] Ibid, 36.
[370] Almeida, *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias*, 61.
[371] Araújo, *A Invasão Do Quilombo Do Limoeiro, 1878*, 20-21.
[372] Ibid.

> The *mocambeiros*, because of the arrangements I had made previously, did not expect to be attacked, and they were all almost tending to errands and working in their fields, including the chief [Estevão], and those in the *mocambo*. There were few adults and children remaining. The *preto* that I encountered in the field warned the village. The *mocambeiros* ran into the woods and it was not possible to seize them because we had insufficient [troops] to surround the *mocambo*.[373]

Cunha's expedition failed to seize control of the quilombo, which had harbored between 600 and 700 runaways.[374] Many of the inhabitants hid in the jungle or fled to the neighboring mocambos of Piranha, Ubum, and Santa Rosa.[375] Only the elderly and the sick stayed behind. Cunha described the condition of his prisoners.

> I ordered my forces to inspect the houses. We found the *mulato,* Claudiano, who was sick with anasarca; the old black (*preto velho*) Victorino, who manages to walk only by clutching to two clubs which he uses as a crutch; Catarina, an old black woman; the runaway slave Joaquim Cabinda; another *preto velho*, Joaquim Cassange, who we captured on the path leading to a garden plot belonging to another *preto*, Faustino. I allowed them to remain in Limoeiro because they could not make the trip [to the military base at Gurupi].[376]

The presence of elderly runaways reveals Limoeiro's longevity and suggests the long-term presence of runaways in quilombo communities.

In March 1878, Captain Feliciano Xavier Freire Júnior of the 5th Infantry Division returned with a second expedition to pressure quilombolas to enter peace negotiations. Xavier's diary provides a rare glimpse into the cultural lives of maroons in Limoeiro.

> It [Limoeiro] has 91 houses, each with three, four, or five blacks with their wives and children, and there are two more houses reserved for prayer, which they call *casa de santos*; one with images of Saints and the other where we found richly adorned wooden figures, bottle gourds with dried herbs and a lot of stones which in ancient times the Indians used as axes, and which the majority of mocambeiros worship with an invocation to Santa Bárbara. However there is nothing else but a medicine man's house.

[373] Ibid., 21.
[374] Ibid.
[375] Ibid.
[376] Ibid., 21-27.

> The number of *roças* in the *mocambo* is extremely high and it would take more than a month to destroy them all.[377]

Evidence of religious syncretism and devotion to Santa Bárbara mirrored the folk Catholicism practiced by slaves and the free poor population, further revealing the quilombolas' integration into rural society.[378] Freire's mission established a camp in Limoeiro, from which troops pursued Estevão and other runaway slaves. Using captured quilombolas as guides, soldiers apprehended 78 runaway slaves in the forest over the span of several months.[379] They included Estevão, as well as men, women, and children of varied age, legal status, and national origin.[380]

Manoel, a fugitive slave in his late 50s, had lived in the forest for forty years, according to testimony provided by Freire's report.[381] Joaquina, a runaway slave from Cabinda in her mid-40s, had resided in Limoeiro for seven years.[382] Florênica, a woman in her mid-twenties, claimed to have purchased her freedom. Two children were born in the jungle during Freire's pursuit. The captives suffered from malnutrition, dehydration, diarrhea, and other maladies. Freire wrote:

> Almost all of the *pretos* have suffered from various afflictions during their stay in the village [the military headquarters in Limoeiro], mainly from fever and diarrhea. I have tried to deal with these infirmities to the best that I can. Only one by the name of Manoel has died, and he recently arrived [in the village] from another *mocambo*…[the quilombolas] had already suffered from famine and they do not even have enough cassava flour to make porridge. They completely lack resources as a result of our pursuit and they were afraid to hunt for fear of detection. The women and children looked like walking skeletons.[383]

The report documented the difficulties of everyday life in the quilombo. After years evading military and Indian raids, maroons in the Turiaçu River Valley were unable to practice

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[377] Ibid., 26.
[378] Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil," 388.
[379] Araújo, *A Invasão Do Quilombo Do Limoeiro, 1878*, 26-28.
[380] Ibid., 27-28.
[381] Ibid., 30.
[382] Ibid.
[383]Ibid., 31.

subsistence agriculture for prolonged periods, leading to widespread hunger, malnutrition, and disease.

Troops escorted the prisoners to the capital São Luis, where former masters apparently retrieved them.[384] Under Brazilian law, slaves who had committed marronage faced a punishment of 200 lashes and sometimes wore an iron collar for up to a year.[385] Estevão stood trial for the murder of his overseer, Manoel Joaquim de Barros, in December 1878.[386] A Turiaçu court found Estevão guilty and sentenced him to death. On June 18, 1881, Estevão succumbed to illness in a São Luis jail prior to his execution.[387] The fate of three captives who "had never known a master" remains unknown, although a judge in neighboring Pará ruled in 1877 that maroons whose legal status could not be verified should be set free.[388]

In August 1878, Captain Feliciano Xavier Freire Júnior oversaw the transformation of Quilombo Limoeiro into Colônia Prado, a cearense refugee camp named for Maranhão's new provincial president, Graciliano Aristides do Prado Pimentel.[389] The colonization program was doomed from the start. As many as 850 cearenses suffered from hunger and malnutrition after Freire's forces destroyed the maroons' roças, a violation of the provincial president's orders.[390] Residents complained to Captain Freire of murders, thefts, and sexual assaults perpetrated by the military stationed at Colônia Prado.[391] Antonio de Oliveira Guimarães, a cearense colonist, reported that soldiers had raped his wife and two daughters.[392] Fr. José Tomás de Albuquerque, a Catholic priest and chaplain of Colônia Prado, complained to Freire that "this old black

[384] Ibid., 51.
[385] *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*, 226.
[386] *A Invasão Do Quilombo Do Limoeiro, 1878*, 36.
[387] Ibid.
[388] Ibid., 45.
[389] Ibid., 87-92.
[390] Ibid.
[391] Ibid., 90-91.
[392] Ibid., 91.

mocambo has become a white mocambo unfit for free persons."[393] Albuquerque's testimony demonstrates how the term "mocambo" became synonymous with marginality, a stigma both derived from and ascribed to its inhabitants.

In October 1879, torrential rains caused the Gurupi and Maracassumé Rivers to flood, destroying what little had remained of the harvest.[394] The flood doomed the government's colonization experiment as Colônia Prado collapsed in December after just fourteen months.[395] The territory did not remain uninhabited for long, however.[396] Maroons who managed to evade Cunha and Freire's forces returned to their former quilombo. Their descendants continued to mine for gold decades after abolition and still reside there today.[397]

7. Conclusion

Although geographic mastery was critical for their survival, quilombos in Rio de Janeiro, Amazonia, and Maranhão forged dynamic links with dominant society, demonstrating their fundamentally adaptive capacities as historical actors. Indeed, it was their interface with slave society that explains both their survival and persecution by elites. Quilombos formed near farms, mills, mines, and even cities. They traded with their neighbors, exchanging agricultural products and gold for weapons, gunpowder, clothes, soap, kerosene, and other supplies. Trade facilitated the formation of an information network that warned fugitive slaves of the movements of slave catchers (*capitães de mato*) and armed troops. Moreover, commercial exchanges provided opportunities for runaways to cement strategic alliances with slaves, free blacks, and even local authorities to barter for food and supplies. Elites reviled quilombos because they often provided

[393] Ibid., 94.
[394] Ibid., 88.
[395] Ibid.
[396] Gomes, *Mocambos E Quilombos: Uma História Do Campesinato Negro No Brasil*, 117-18.
[397] See Jorge Hurley, *Nos Sertões Do Gurupy* (Belem: Oficinas Gráficas do Instituto D. Macedo Costa, 1928).

sanctuary to others fleeing Brazil's system of land concentration and coercive labor, including peasants, Indians, vagrants, criminals, and military deserters. Far from being isolated from rural society, quilombolas in the Baixada Ocidental Maranhense participated alongside other subaltern groups in plotting revolts and staging rebellions throughout the nineteenth century. The threat of an alliance of quilombolas, slaves, free blacks, and army deserters prodded military assaults against maroon communities until the eve of abolition. Along with agro-ecological mastery, social networks were instrumental in sustaining quilombos' defense of their autonomy. For their descendants, these strategies would be critical as well in sustaining their communities after emancipation, in a political climate where historical representations of quilombos by outsiders became highly charged.

Chapter Three:

The Contested Legacies of Quilombos in Post-Emancipation Brazil

On May 13, 1888, Princess Regent Isabel signed the *Lei Áurea* (Golden Law) that abolished slavery in Brazil.[398] The causes of emancipation were manifold.[399] Under pressure from Great Britain, the Brazilian monarchy supported the termination of the Atlantic slave trade to Brazil in 1850. The rapid expansion of the coffee economy in southeastern Brazil during the mid-nineteenth century fueled a domestic slave trade that redistributed slaves from the declining sugar mills of the Northeast to the booming coffee plantations of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais.[400] Seeing little future for slavery in their local economies and facing political pressure from urban abolitionists, legislators in the Northeast reluctantly supported the 1871 Free Womb Act.[401] In 1885, the Brazilian legislature ratified the Sexagenarian Law, which freed all slaves over the age of sixty.[402] As Kim Butler has shown, abolition in Brazil was not a single legislative act, but rather constituted a series of state-directed initiatives that "permitted elites to shape the initial terms of abolition to their advantage."[403]

Of course, slaves and freed blacks fought to end slavery, as well. Bondsmen deserted São Paulo's coffee plantations en masse during the 1880s.[404] An "underground railroad"

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[398] Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988*, 39.
[399] For causes and consequences of abolition in Brazil, see Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slaves and Freed People in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1910*; Angela Alonso, *Flores, Votos, E Balas: O Movimento Abolicionista Brasileiro (1868-1888)* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2015); Tâmis Parron, *A Política Da Escravidão No Império Do Brasil, 1826-1865* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2011); Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*; Castro, *Das Cores Do Silêncio: Os Significados Da Liberdade No Sudeste Escravista No Século Xix*; Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988*; Scott, "Exploring the Meaning of Freedom: Post-Emancipation Societies in Comparative Perspective."
[400] Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988*, 34-36.
[401] Ibid., 36.
[402] Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*., 75.
[403] Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*, 5.
[404] Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988*, 39. See also Emilia Viotti da Costa, *Da Senzala À Colônia* (São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 1997).

spearheaded by abolitionist Antônio Bento led runaway slaves to the city of Santos and the quilombo of Jabaquara in the hills of the Serra Maior.[405] Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, Luís Gama, an Afro-Brazilian lawyer and activist, invoked Brazil's 1831 anti-slaving treaty with Great Britain to win freedom for hundreds of enslaved clients in São Paulo.[406] As Sidney Chalhoub has shown, slaves invoked the 1871 Free Womb Act to purchase their freedom and prosecute abusive masters.[407] In Bahia, bondsmen toiling on the sugar plantations of the Recôncavo engaged in work stoppages and "everyday acts of defiance" that hastened slavery's demise, as illustrated by Walter Fraga.[408] These collective efforts culminated with the enactment of the Gold Law emancipating 1.5 million slaves in Brazil.[409]

However, despite obtaining freedom, socioeconomic opportunities did not substantively improve for many freed slaves (*libertos*) and their descendants in Brazil. There would be no financial restitution or government assistance to ease the transition of former slaves into the wage labor economy.[410] Nor were there government programs that resembled the Freedmen's Bureau in the United States through which former slaves could receive basic education and job training.[411] Afro-Brazilians confronted racial discrimination in areas such as employment, education, admission to social events, and government policies and elites embraced European immigration to "whiten" Brazil.[412] Proposals to redistribute land to libertos were defeated by a legislature dominated by large landowners that provoked the overthrow of the monarchy in

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[405] Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*, 28. See also, Maria Helena Pereira Toledo Machado, *Plano E O Pânico: Os Movimentos Sociais Na Decada Da Abolição* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 2010).
[406] Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988*, 32.
[407] Chalhoub, *Visões Da Liberdade: Uma História Das Últimas Décadas Da Escravidão Na Corte*, 107-08.
[408] Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slaves and Freed People in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1910.*
[409] Castro, *Das Cores Do Silêncio: Os Significados Da Liberdade No Sudeste Escravista No Século Xix*, 15.
[410] Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*, 28.
[411] Ibid.
[412] Ibid., 55. See also, Richard Graham, "Landowners and the Overthrow of the Empire," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 7, no. 2 (1970).

1889.[413] In the countryside, freedmen fought to negotiate better wages and working conditions as sharecroppers and to retain access to roças for their subsistence and trade.[414]

The quilombo no longer existed as a legal category in the aftermath of emancipation.[415] For almost three centuries, quilombos filled newspapers, correspondence, and police bulletins. During the post-emancipation period, traces of their existence vanished from government documents, maps, and census data.[416] The erasure of quilombos from official archives coincided with efforts to whitewash Brazilian history. In 1890, finance minister Rui Barbosa ordered the treasury to burn all records related to slavery, in part to stave off demands for the indemnification of former slave owners, but also to lift the "black stain" of the past. Of course, quilombos never actually disappeared. As Chapters Four and Five will demonstrate, ex-maroons and their descendants eked out a living, reintegrating into peasant communities and urban populations during the twentieth century.[417] Quilombos would also achieve charged symbolism in Brazilian society, notwithstanding, or perhaps because of, elite efforts to whitewash the slave past.

Chapter Three explores the contested meanings of fugitive slave communities among intellectuals, state officials, and activists in Brazil between abolition in 1888 and the advent of the Quilombo Law in 1988. Drawing from oral histories, film, music, essays, and articles about Afro-Brazilian culture and history, this chapter demonstrates how quilombos came to acquire great symbolism in debates about the nature of slavery, race relations, and national identity in Brazil. As an historical foil to the Eurocentric template of colonial and Imperial Brazil, were

[413] Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988*, 131, 299.
[414] Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slaves and Freed People in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1910*, 133-34, 60.
[415] Gomes, *Mocambos E Quilombos: Uma História Do Campesinato Negro No Brasil*, 120.
[416] Ibid.
[417] Ibid.

quilombos the embodiment of "savagery" or the avatars of anti-colonial struggle? Was blackness, as essentialized in "ethnographic" assessments of quilombos, a generative or degenerative force in Brazilian society? Meditations on the "black experience" under slavery, colonialism, and neoliberalism, of course, have an extensive intellectual genealogy in the history of Africa and its Diaspora.[418] Here, I propose to focus on how the historical image of the quilombo became the locus of such ideological struggle.

In the aftermath of 1888, for example, the renowned physician Raimundo Nina Rodrigues pathologized the Quilombo dos Palmares as a source of Brazil's "racial degeneracy" and underdevelopment. Although Nina Rodrigues was Afro-Brazilian, he clearly echoed many beliefs of African "primitivism" shared by his white counterparts. Yet beginning in the 1920s, a generation of both black and white folklorists based in the Brazilian Northeast challenged Rodrigues's views about race, repurposing quilombos as pure repositories of "Africanness," one of the building blocks of Brazil's cultural patrimony.

São Paulo's black press imparted yet other meanings to maroon communities during the 1920s and 1930s. José Correia Leite, Afro-Paulistano journalist and editor of São Paulo's largest black newspaper, *O Clarim da Alvorada* (The Clarion of Dawn), refashioned quilombos as symbols of black nationalism and self-determination to protest the marginalization of Afro-Brazilians in post-emancipation society. In 1926, Leite's Abolition Day poem eulogized Brazil's original heroes: the fugitive slaves of Palmares. He wrote,

> To the soldiers from the African forests, those legendary men that fought for the sovereignty that today empowers each and every one of us to strive for glory; those most honorable men of the human race, whose sacrificial acts made them immortal; they who confronted the tyranny of captivity and vowed never to accept

[418] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Dover Publications, 1903); Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1952); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Achille Mbembe, *Critique of Black Reason* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2017).

> servitude! Today, we sing raise to the greatness of our ancestors that all humanity admires; that we may relive, in the page of history yet written, the example of the people of Palmares, that chose only victory![419]

Few outside São Paulo black press likely shared Leite's positive appraisal of the Quilombo dos Palmares. Moreover, under the dictatorial regime of Getúlio Vargas (1937-1945), the notion of racial mixture, or "racial democracy," would become a quasi-official state ideology. In this context, regime ideologues branded quilombos and their descendants as racial separatists anathema to Brazil's "racial democracy." In 1941, the *paulista* intellectual, Cassiano Ricardo, wrote, "The modern state fights to destroy ethnic cysts, just as the bandeirantes had fought against the black cyst of Palmares and the red cyst of the Recôncavo."[420] The pathologization of quilombos as cancerous growths represented the dehumanization of historic black communities. Concurrently, during the 1940s, the state government of Pernambuco oversaw a campaign to eradicate actual ones: the residents of Recife's "mocambos," slums and shantytowns named for the encampments of fugitive slaves that once dotted the northeastern sertão.

In an ideological tug-of-war, however, black activists and intellectuals showcased quilombos to debunk rosy depictions of Brazilian slavery and race relations between the 1950s and 1980s. Abdias do Nascimento, an Afro-Brazilian scholar, artist, and politician, championed *quilombismo,* a radical alternative to discourses of racial mixture and harmony.[421] Quilombismo called upon nonwhite Brazilians to embrace black identities and the purported values of slave-era maroon communities: cooperation, creativity, collective labor, communal landownership, and cultural resistance to white supremacy.[422] In this context, Afro-Brazilian researchers such as the historian Maria Beatriz do Nascimento and the ethnographer Guilherme dos Santos Barboza

[419] José Correia Leite, "Aos Palmares," *O Clarim da Alvorada*, 05/13/1926, 2; ibid.
[420] Cassiano Ricardo, "O Estado Novo E Seu Sentido Bandeirante," *Cultura Política* 1941.
[421] Nascimento, *O Quilombismo: Documentos De Uma Militância Negra Pan-Africanista.*
[422] Ibid.

conducted field work in the countryside to document the histories of "ex-quilombos" during the 1970s.[423] These competing views about quilombos would be on full display in the acrimonious debates surrounding the passage of Article 68 at the 1987-1988 National Constituent Assembly in Brasília, which granted legal recognition and territorial rights to *comunidades remanescentes de quilombos*.

1. Quilombos and Racial Degeneration

Following abolition in 1888 and the rise of the First Republic (1889-1930), Brazilian intellectuals grappled with the nature of national identity.[424] Ashamed of Brazil's international reputation as a "backwater," intellectuals such as the jurist Silvio Romero and anthropologist João Baptista Lacerda, the director of the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro, heralded the Europeanization of Brazilian society.[425] Their optimism was fueled by Afro-Brazilians' lower birth rates and the influx of millions of Europeans in the 1880s and 1890s to Brazil. (In fact, although nonwhites comprised only 32 percent of the population in the industrialized south, in every other region, at least 60 percent of the population was Afro-descendant or mixed at the turn of the twentieth century).[426] Influenced by positivism and Social Darwinism, a generation of so-called "men of science" proposed sweeping policies to redress, or bring to an end, what they called the "*problema do negro*" (negro problem) in Brazil.

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[423] See Maria Beatriz do Nascimento, "Repensando O Quilombo?," in *Fundação Maria Beatriz do Nascimento*, ed. Arquivo Nacional (Brasil) (1985); "Projeto: Continuidade E Descontinuidade Histórica Dos Quilombos Do Estado Do Rio De Janeiro, 1830-1988," in *Fundação Maria Beatriz do Nascimento* (Arquivo Nacional, 1988); Guilherme dos Santos Barboza, "Cafundó, Uma Comunidade Que Corre O Riso De Dissolução," *Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research* 20 (1978); "Para Quem Nasceu Lá, Quilombo É Termo De Antropólogo: Entrevista Com Guilherme Dos Santos Barboza," *O Jornal de São Paulo*, September 9, 1993; interview by Edward Shore, August 12, 2015, São Paulo

[424] Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *The Spectacle of the Races: Scientists, Institutions, and the Race Question in Brazil, 1870-1930* (New York Hill and Wang, 1999), 29.

[425] Ibid.

[426] Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*, 45.

Modernizing elites embraced whitening vis-à-vis European immigration as a panacea for "backwardness" during the post-emancipation period. State-sponsored immigration to Brazil began during the mid-nineteenth century, when imperial officials tried unsuccessfully to colonize backwater regions and while large landowners attempted to supplant slave labor on southeastern coffee plantations with European free workers. In 1848, the Brazilian monarchy established Private Colonization Societies (PCS) to promote and finance the emigration of German and central European immigrants to agricultural zones of the southern Brazil.[427] However, immigration to Brazil expanded significantly under the First Republic. Between two and three million immigrants from Europe, Japan, and the Middle East arrived in Brazil between 1870 and 1930.[428] Many immigrants settled in São Paulo city, the site of an early twentieth-century industrial manufacturing boom. João Baptista Lacerda predicted that immigration would whiten Brazil by the twenty-first century. He proclaimed, "In the course of another century the mixed bloods will have disappeared from Brazil. This will coincide with the extinction of the black race in our midst."[429]

Prominent voices in the Brazilian medical community were less sanguine about the potential for whitening. Raimundo Nina Rodrigues (1862-1906), an Afro-Brazilian physician and editor of the *Gazeta Médica da Bahia,* one of Brazil's most prestigious medical publications, upheld Spencerian Social Darwinist models to condemn the blending of races and their consequent degeneracy.[430] Rodrigues believed that Brazil's backwardness stemmed not only from its African heritage, but also from centuries of interracial mixture between Afro-

[427] Jeffrey Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present*, New Approaches to the Americas (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 2013), 33-35.
[428] Ibid., 5.
[429] Lacerda is quoted in Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, 83.
[430] Schwarcz, *The Spectacle of the Races: Scientists, Institutions, and the Race Question in Brazil, 1870-1930*, 258.

descendants, Europeans, and indigenous peoples.[431] Unlike proponents of European immigration, who claimed that racial mixture would inevitably lead to whitening, Rodrigues warned that blending would lead to a "blackening" of the Brazilian population and racial degeneracy.[432]

In part, Nina Rodrigues had absorbed prevailing, hard-core eugenicist ideologies in the field of tropical medicine that diagnosed Latin America's Afro-descendant and mixed-race populations as social and biological impediments to national development.[433] Yet Rodrigues lamented as well that European immigration had failed to improve Brazil's underlying social problems.[434] As Nina Rodrigues wrote,

> So long as Brazil is not a civilized country, with a real sanitary organization in place, as long as the primitive cabins of American Indians or of black Africans are not replaced with modern scientific hospitals, as long as the promotion of demographic expansion is nothing more than the spectacular introduction of batches of immigrants with the aim of becoming noticed by Europe and the Argentine Republic, we will continue to be one of those semi-barbaric or barbarous countries.[435]

As Anadelia Romo notes, Rodrigues focused on social conditions, rather than solely biological traits, as predeterminants of criminal behavior and the spread of communicable disease.[436] As editor of the *Gazeta Médica da Bahia*, he lobbied for improvements in public health rather than the importation of white immigrants.[437] Rodrigues's preoccupation with degeneracy also fueled his extensive interest in Afro-Brazilian culture.[438] In pioneering ethnographic studies of

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[431] Anadelia Romo, *Brazil's Living Museum: Race, Reform, and Tradition in Bahia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 33.
[432] Ibid.
[433] See Julyan Peard, *Race, Place, and Medicine: The Idea of the Tropics in Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Medicine* (Durham and London: Duke University Press 1999).; Stanley Blake, *The Vigorous Core of Our Nationality: Race and Regional Identity in Northeastern Brazil* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press 2011), 82-113.
[434] Romo, *Brazil's Living Museum: Race, Reform, and Tradition in Bahia*, 36.
[435] Ibid.
[436] Romo, *Brazil's Living Museum: Race, Reform, and Tradition in Bahia*, 38.
[437] Ibid., 36.
[438] Marcela Franzen Rodrigues, "Raça E Criminalidade Na Obra De Nina Rodrigues: Uma História Psicossocial Dos Estudos Raciais No Brasil Do Final Do Século Xix," *Estudos e Pesquisas em Psicologia* 15, no. 3 (2015).

Salvador's Candomblé community, Rodrigues researched Afro-Brazilian religions and their influence upon Brazilian society. His anxiety about the persistence of so-called "Africanisms" led him to revisit the historical formation and cultural legacies of Brazil's most famous runaway slave community.

In 1894, Nina Rodrigues published "Troya Negra" (Black Troy), a revisionist history of the Quilombo dos Palmares that revealed his pessimism towards Afro-Brazilians and racial mixture.[439] Early scholarship of Palmares had depicted a David and Goliath contest in which the beleaguered Portuguese triumphed over an African adversary in the hinterlands. Sebastião da Rocha Pita's *História da América Portuguesa* (1725), the definitive account of the Palmares sieges throughout much of the colonial period and nineteenth century, depicted the quilombo as a "rustic republic," an autonomous, quasi-democratic polity ruled by a "council of magistrates" that nominated a supreme leader.[440] Nina Rodrigues painted a starkly different portrait of Palmares. Published on the bicentenary of the maroon kingdom's destruction, "Black Troy" depicted the renowned quilombo as emblematic of Brazilian racial degeneracy.[441] Palmares could not have resembled a "rustic republic," Rodrigues reasoned, because its Bantu inhabitants were mired in a primitive evolutionary stage.[442] The quilombo's backwardness stemmed not only from the prevalence of Bantu cultural influences, but also from the widespread intermixture of Africans, Indians, and so-called "white criminals" who co-inhabited Palmares.[443] As Rodrigues wrote:

> Palmares was born from the union of slaves and "adventurers of color," of whom not all where necessarily negroes. Lacking strong traditions of African

[439] Thyago Ruzemberg Gonzaga de Souza, "A Troya Negra De Nina Rodrigues: O Quilombo Dos Palmares, Um Espaço Do Racismo Científico," *Quipus* 2, no. 2 (2013).
[440] Pita, *História Da América Portuguesa*, 215-16.
[441] Rodrigues, *Os Africanos No Brasil* 85.
[442] Ibid., 83.
[443] Ibid., 99.

> governance, the negroes, who had long coexisted with the Portuguese people in whose bosom they lived as slaves, imparted to Palmares certain rules and habits to which they were subjected as slaves…Yet what is clear, based upon the known descriptions, is that in freedom the Negroes of Palmares organized themselves in a state equivalent to all those that are currently found in all of Africa, still uncultured (*inculto*).[444]

Rodrigues chided Rocha Pita and other scholars for "discovering liberal intentions where there was only the instinct of salvation" to explain the quilombo's emergence.[445] He affirmed that the Portuguese victory over Palmares had prevented Brazil from becoming "another Haiti." He asserted:

> In all respects, less debatable is the relevant service provided by Portuguese and colonial weapons, destroying at once the greatest threat to the civilization of the future Brazilian people, in this new Haiti, antithetical to progress and inaccessible to civilization, which Palmares victorious would have planted in the heart of Brazil.[446]

In this way, Rodrigues conflated maroons' spatial and social distancing as both constitutive and reflective of barbarism. Rodrigues would not have the last word on the matter. Subsequent generations of Northeastern intellectuals rehabilitated the Quilombo dos Palmares to refute racial degeneration, if not necessarily essentialism, and to celebrate Brazil's African roots.

2. Quilombos and the Lure of Africa

Historian Alfredo Brandão (1874-1944) dedicated his scholarly career to researching the folklore and historical memory of the Quilombo dos Palmares in his native Alagoas.[447] In 1914, Brandão published a history of Viçosa, a small city tucked away in the arid backlands of Alagoas where the Quilombo dos Palmares had once stood. Brandão's was among the first historical

[444] Ibid., 99-101.
[445] Ibid., 85.
[446] Ibid, 85-86.
[447] Alfredo Brandão, *Viçosa De Alagoas: O Município E a Cidade; Notas Históricas, Geográficas, E Arqueológicas* (Recife: Imprensa Industrial, 1914). Brandão's essay about the *Auto do Quilombo* can be found in Edison Carneiro, ed. *Antologia Do Negro Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Agir Editora Ltda., 2005), 287-88.

monographs to document the persistence of Palmarian "cultural survivals" in the Alagoan countryside.

Among the vestiges was the *Auto do Quilombo*, a popular festival celebrated by "*negros* and *caboclos*" throughout the Alagoan sertão since the early nineteenth century.[448] Brandão described how revelers dressed as maroons and Indians gathered in the town square of Viçosa to anoint an "African king" from the crowd and marry him to an "African princess."[449] After the coronation, a folkloric dance re-created an epic confrontation between Palmarians and Indians; according to Brandão, the dance dramatized the historical participation of indigenous soldiers in the Portuguese-led assault against the Palmarian stronghold of Macaco in 1694.[450] The Auto do Quilombo concluded with a *batuque* (drum circle), in which revelers sung the refrain: "*Folga negro/Branco não vem cá/se vier/o diabo há de leva!"/* "Black holiday/whitey don't come here!/and if he does/the devil would surely take 'em!"[451]

Festivities of this sort, such as the *Congadas*, blending African and Portuguese Christian iconography, were commonplace in colonial and nineteenth-century Brazil.[452] Organized by the black religious confraternity of Nossa Senhora do Rosário Preto during the Christmas season, the festival counted on the participation of slaves and free persons. Elites were always of two minds regarding such popular religious devotions, but the Auto do Quilombo particularly disquieted Alagoas's ruling classes. In 1839, the provincial government of Alagoas outlawed the "barbarous

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[448] See Danilo Luiz Marques, "Folga Negro, Branco Não Vem Cá: O Quilombo Como Arte Da Memória Negra Sobre Palmares," *Escravidão e Liberdade no Brasil Meridional* 7, no. 1 (2015).; Demian Moreira Reis, "Dança Do Quilombo: Os Significados De Uma Tradição " *Afro-Ásia* 17, no. 1 (1996).
[449] Ibid.
[450] Carneiro, *Antologia Do Negro Brasileiro*, 287.
[451] Ibid.
[452] See Marina de Mello e Souza, "Kongo King Festivals in Brazil: From Kings of Nations to Kings of Kongo," *African Studies Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (2015); Alexandre Kishimoto, *O Reinado Da Irmandade De Nossa Senhora Do Rosário Do Jatobá: Belo Horizonte, Mg* (São Paulo: Edições Acervo Cachuera, 2015); Elizabeth Kiddy, *Blacks of the Rosary: Memory and History in Minas Gerais, Brazil* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).

and immoral spectacle called the Quilombo," mandating sentences of eight days in jail for individuals suspected of having participated in the ritual.[453] Under provincial law, masters whose slaves were arrested by police were ordered to pay fines up to 8,000 *mil réis*.[454] The criminalization of the Auto do Quilombo coincided with a wave of discriminatory legislation throughout Brazil that restricted the movement and cultural practices of enslaved Africans and free persons in the aftermath of the 1835 Revolt of the Malês.[455] Despite repression, the Auto do Quilombo spread to neighboring municipalities.[456] Almost a century after authorities had outlawed the festival, Alfredo Brandão urged the Brazilian government to recognize the Auto do Quilombo as an authentic expression of *nordestino* culture. "This is an authentically Alagoan festival, one which recalls one of the most important episodes in our history: the Palmares Wars," Brandão wrote in 1914.[457] "It should be protected, not only because of our love of tradition, but also because such kind of fun is not without its appeal and is even superior to other antiquated [local] traditions that are already recognized."

Reappraisal of the Auto do Quilombo coincided with a broader reconsideration of the importance of Afro-Brazilian and "folk" culture to the construction of Brazilian national identity. Predictably, anthropology and geography were two disciplines that underwrote the campaign. Beginning in the 1920s, sectors of the Northeastern intelligentsia spun Brazil's cultural hybridity and African roots in a positive light. In contrast with racial determinists like Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, who believed that interracial mixture had condemned the Brazilian population to degeneracy, social science proponents of what came to be called *mestiçagem* (racial mixture)

[453] Marques, "Folga Negro, Branco Não Vem Cá: O Quilombo Como Arte Da Memória Negra Sobre Palmares," 8.
[454] Reis, "Dança Do Quilombo: Os Significados De Uma Tradição " 171.
[455] Reis, *Divining Slavery and Freedom: The Story of Domingos Sodré, an African Priest in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* 69-72.
[456] Marques, "Folga Negro, Branco Não Vem Cá: O Quilombo Como Arte Da Memória Negra Sobre Palmares," 7.
[457] Carneiro, *Antologia Do Negro Brasileiro*, 287-88.

affirmed that the blending of European, African, and indigenous traits had engendered a culturally advanced, *mestiço* national race.[458] Mixture came to signify, and dignify, *brasilidade* (Brazilianness), the collection of qualities that purportedly distinguished Brazilians from citizens of Argentina, Portugal, and the United States, three populations whom intellectuals sought to define their compatriots against.[459] In Brazil and across Latin America, government officials promoted nationalist ideologies of racial harmony to smooth over regional, racial, and class divisions. Getúlio Vargas, a governor from the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul who toppled the First Republic in a bloodless coup in 1930, championed mestiçagem as a populist ideology of Brazilian nation-building.[460]

To challenge the growing hegemony of southern industrialists, Northeastern intellectuals posited mestiçagem, patriarchalism, and paternalism as the soul of Brazil.[461] Gilberto Freyre, a U.S.-trained sociologist from Pernambuco, became the most prominent proponent of racial democracy in Brazil. His landmark 1933 treatise on Brazilian civilization, *Casa Grande e Senzala* (*The Masters and the Slaves*), theorized that Brazil's long history of racial mixture and the absence of legal segregation confirmed the absence of racism in Brazilian society.[462] Repudiating scientific racism, *The Masters and the Slaves* celebrated African cultural contributions to Brazilian society. Freyre famously argued, "Every Brazilian, even the light-skinned fair-haired one, carries about with him on his soul…the mongrel mark of the *genipap*,

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[458] Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, 10-11; Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*, 42-43; Garfield, *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil: State Policy, Frontier Expansion, and the Xavante Indians, 1937-1988*, 38-39.
[459] Bryan McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music and the Making of Modern Brazil* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 2.
[460] Romo, *Brazil's Living Museum: Race, Reform, and Tradition in Bahia*, 48; Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, 114.
[461] Romo, *Brazil's Living Museum: Race, Reform, and Tradition in Bahia*, 50. See also Emilia Viotti Da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths & Histories* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Durval Albuquerque, *The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014).
[462] Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves*, 278.

the shadow, or at least the birthmark of the aborigine or the Negro. Along the seaboard, from Maranhão to Rio Grande do Sul, it is chiefly the Negro. The influence of the African, either direct or vague and remote."[463] Freyre celebrated Afro-Brazilian art, music, dance, religion, and cuisine in particular. Although Freyre recognized Afro-descendant contributions to Brazilian cultural identity, he also professed faith that interracial mixture would ultimately whiten the Brazilian population, a conviction shared by previous Brazilian intellectuals Silvio Romero, João Baptista Lacerda, and Alberto Torres. In an act of "imperialist nostalgia," Gilberto Freyre and his contemporaries—Melville Herskovitz, Arthur Ramos, Edison Carneiro, and Ruth Landes—fanned out across the Brazilian Northeast to document the region's African "traditions" before they vanished.[464]

Folklorists researched fugitive slave communities as repositories of Africanness, one of the building blocks of Brazil's cultural patrimony. As noted, such communities, even under slavery, were never purely African hold-outs, yet such was the bias, or self-delusion, of the anthropological and modernist construction of "the other." In 1928, the Archaeological and Geographical Institute of Alagoas planned a series of digs in the Serra da Barriga to uncover archaeological ruins of Palmares.[465] In 1937, the state government of Alagoas declared the Serra da Barriga a historical monument. Two academic conferences devoted to the study of Afro-Brazilian culture—the First Afro-Brazilian Congress in Recife (1934) and the Second Afro-Brazilian Congress in Salvador (1937)—produced scholarly essays about the Palmares Wars and their representations in Northeastern folklore.[466] Arthur Ramos, the Alagoan psychologist and

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[463] Ibid.
[464] Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations* 26 (1989).
[465] *Euclydes de Oliveira, "Troya Negra: Onde Se Desenrolou a Tragedia Dos Quilombos," O Progresso, September 7, 1928, 2.*
[466] Congresso Afro-Brasileiro (Recife), ed. *Novos Estudos Afro-Brasieliros (Recife)* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1937); Congresso Afro-Brasileiro (Bahia), ed. *O Negro No Brasil: Trabalhos Apresentados Ao 2. Congresso Afro-Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira 1940).

anthropologist expanded upon Alfredo Brandão's research of the Auto do Quilombo in his 1934 book, *O Negro no Brasil: etnografia religiosa e psicanálise*. Ramos theorized that the festival signified a manifestation of the "collective subconscious" of Bantu-descendant peoples in the *sertão*.[467]

In 1935, the linguist Renato Mendonça highlighted the influence of Bantu languages upon the evolution of Brazilian Portuguese. His study, *A Influência Africana no Português do Brasil*, observed the ubiquity of municipalities named for "quilombos" and "mocambos" in the countryside.[468] In 1947, Edison Carneiro, the Afro-Bahian historian, social activist, and co-organizer of the Second Afro-Brazilian Congress in Salvador published *O Quilombo dos Palmares*, a comprehensive study of social organization and cultural practices in the maroon kingdom.[469] This scholarly fascination with "African survivals" in the 1930s and 1940s, product of anthropologists' fascination with "the primitive," foreshadowed their prominence in debates over the Quilombo Law in the 1987-1988 Constituent Assembly.

3. Black Paulista Intellectuals and Quilombos (1930-1937)

Northeastern folklorists were not the only group to impart new meaning to maroon communities during the post-emancipation period. In São Paulo, an emerging generation of black intellectuals and activists refashioned quilombos as symbols of black nationalism and self-determination. Following emancipation, Afro-Brazilians migrated by the tens of thousands to São Paulo city from the agricultural areas of the Paulista interior and neighboring states in search of work and opportunity.[470] The urban black population, estimated at 26,380 in 1910, grew to

[467] Ramos, *O Negro No Brasil: Etnografia Religiosa E Psicanálise*.
[468] Renato Mendonça, *A Influência Africana No Português Do Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1935).
[469] Carneiro, *O Quilombo Dos Palmares*.
[470] Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*, 56, 67.

108,682 by 1940.[471] Descended from slaves, rural migrants arrived in the Paulista capital, often finding only menial jobs with little potential for growth.[472] Whites, both Brazilian-born and European immigrants, discriminated against blacks in São Paulo on the basis of color in areas such as employment, housing, education, admission to social events, and government policies.[473] Confronting racial discrimination and social exclusion, a number of Afro-Paulistano intellectuals embraced blackness (*negritude*) as a strategy of social and political advancement.[474]

The Frente Negra Brasileira (FNB), Brazil's first black nationalist political party, rejected racial dilution as the marker of brasilidade and bedrock of nationalist ideologies.[475] Founded in São Paulo in 1930, the Frente Negra called for blacks to be recognized as "nationals" in contrast to immigrants.[476] Members of the FNB applauded Vargas's restrictions on European immigration and enactment of labor laws requiring that two-thirds of employees in industrial firms be Brazilian-born.[477]Appealing to the regime's nativist rhetoric to obtain political rights and social inclusion, the Frente Negra professed that Brazilian citizenship was earned through a history of "vigorous participation in nation building."[478] No group had contributed more to Brazil's historical development, FNB militants argued, than Afro-Brazilians. To obtain recognition and political rights, the Frente Negra consecrated black abolitionists like José do Patrocínio and Luiz Gama, the colonial soldier Henrique Dias, and Zumbi dos Palmares as national heroes.[479]

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[471] Ibid., 56.
[472] Ibid.
[473] Ibid., 88.
[474] Ibid., 89.
[475] Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, 138.
[476]Ibid., 129.
[477] Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*, 117-21; Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*.
[478] *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, 137.
[479] Ibid.

The Quilombo dos Palmares held great political symbolism for Frente leaders who advocated black consciousness and empowerment. “Palmares is not only a reminder of our glorious past; it also symbolizes our faith in the present,” wrote José Bueno Feliciano, the assistant editor of *A Voz da Raça*, the Frente Negra’s official newspaper.[480] “[Palmares] is an affirmation of the black race’s hope for the future and for better days to come.” As the self-proclaimed “grandchildren of Zumbi,” FNB activists memorialized the Quilombo dos Palmares in a variety of ways.[481] One of the party’s first undertakings was the establishment of a primary, secondary, and technical school for black youth in São Paulo, the Liceu Palmares.[482] The Frente Negra's newspaper published frequent paeans to the Palmarian maroons who had fought off the Dutch invasion of Brazil.[483] Moreover, party leadership lobbied for the creation of a national holiday to commemorate the “State of Palmares,” a paragon of “organization, work, blood, struggle, and independence.”[484]

Arlindo Veiga dos Santos, co-founder of the Frente Negra, promoted “Palmares Day” in an editorial published by *A Voz da Raça* on April 21, 1937. The date that dos Santos chose to publicize his holiday campaign was provocative. In Brazil, April 21 is known as Tiradentes Day, a national holiday that memorializes Joaquim José da Silva Xavier (nicknamed Tiradentes), organizer of the eighteenth-century colonial rebellion known as the *Inconfidência Mineira*. Tiradentes himself was resurrected under Vargas to symbolize Brazil’s long struggle for independence from Portugal. Yet dos Santos recognized Zumbi dos Palmares, not Tiradentes, as the progenitor of Brazilian independence. “We shall set aside a holiday, Palmares Day, an

[480] José Bueno Feliciano, "Nossa Glória É Penhor Da Nossa Esperança," *A Voz da Raça*, 11/25 1933, 2.
[481] Arlindo Veiga dos Santos, "Datas Históricas," ibid., 04/21 1937, 1.
[482] "A Frente Negra Brasileira E a Instrução," *A Voz da Raça*, 03/25 1933.
[483] Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, 134.
[484]Santos, "A Frente Negra Brasileira E a Instrução."

occasion to pay respect to the quilombo and its king, Zumbi," dos Santos proclaimed.[485] "No one can ever claim again that it was Tiradentes who had first thought about (asserting) independence from Portugal!"[486] Dos Santos's statement was defiant: rebel slaves, not white revolutionaries, were Brazil's true anti-colonial heroes and founding fathers. By deploying the historical contributions of fugitive slaves to Brazilian independence, dos Santos placed blackness (rather than "mixture") at the heart of brasilidade. Further, he upheld a model of black militancy and heroism, rather than subservience and accommodation. Black political mobilization ultimately rankled conservative ideologues committed to the subordination of Afro-Brazilians and their forced assimilation into the national melting pot.

4. Quilombos as "Ethnic Cysts" (1937-1945)

On November 10, 1937, President Getúlio Vargas announced in a nation-wide address that his administration had foiled a "communist plot" to overthrow his government. He declared emergency powers, tightened censorship of the media, and abolished political parties. The internal coup inaugurated the Estado Novo or New State, a seven-year dictatorship that borrowed its name from the fascist regime of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar in Portugal.[487] Vargas co-opted discourses of racial harmony to promote his agenda of national regeneration. However, Vargas's brand of mestiçagem drew primarily on the popular culture of Rio de Janeiro and made that city's particular mix of African and European influences stand for all of Brazil's.[488] Afro-Paulistano activists and intellectuals who had promoted blacks' racial distinctiveness came under increasing attack from government censors. Although the Frente Negra Brasileira never elected a

[485] "Datas Históricas."; "A Frente Negra Brasileira E a Instrução."; "Datas Históricas."
[486] "Datas Históricas."
[487] Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, 143.
[488] Ibid., 111.

candidate to political office, the organization was banned, along with other political parties, during the Estado Novo.

Estado Novo ideologues branded social groups that resisted "psychological, linguistic, and social assimilation" as "ethnic cysts."[489] Brazil's immigrant population bore the brunt of government repression.[490] In 1938, Vargas created the Conselho de Imigração e Colonização (CIC), a government agency charged with restricting foreign immigration to Brazil and "assimilating" resident aliens.[491] Throughout the Second World War, the CIC suppressed German, Italian, and Japanese immigrant associations, schools, churches, newspapers, and mutual aid societies that had retained their native languages and promoted their cultural heritage.[492] Indigenous peoples were likewise to be acculturated under state tutelage.[493] In this political context, the Vargas regime demonized black communities allegedly characterized by "racial and cultural isolation."[494]

Brazil's slums and shantytowns, known as favelas, and mocambos in Recife, drew the ire of state officials who crafted public policy solutions to the *problema do negro*.[495] In a discourse reminiscent of Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, José Mariano Filho, professor of architecture at the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes in Rio de Janeiro, vilified poor communities of color as spaces of "racial isolation" where blacks reverted to "savagery." He wrote:

> The tendency of the black element to isolate itself from the civilization of whites, to which they do not wish to submit, is a common phenomenon throughout the

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[489] Endrica Geraldo, "O Combate Contra Os "Quistos Étnicos": Identidade, Assimilação E Política Imigratória No Estado Novo," *Locus: revista de história* 15, no. 1 (2009): 171.
[490] Ibid.
[491] Ibid.
[492] Ibid., 181.
[493] Garfield, *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil: State Policy, Frontier Expansion, and the Xavante Indians, 1937-1988*, 38-39.
[494] Geraldo, "O Combate Contra Os "Quistos Étnicos": Identidade, Assimilação E Política Imigratória No Estado Novo," 171.
[495] José Tavares Correia de Lira, "O Urbanismo E O Seu Outro: Raça, Cultura, E Cidade No Brasil " *R.B. Estudos Urbanos e Regionais* 1, no. 1 (1999).

> South American republics. Among us, it has manifested itself in an ostentatious way, due to the absence of coercive measures. Returning to their rural ways, [the formation of mocambos] satisfies the violent impulses of the subconscious. The return to primitive life allow blacks to satisfy their racial tendencies, fetishistic practices, dances, *macumbas*, etc. The favelas of Rio de Janeiro, much like the mocambos of Recife, are pure African survivals as like the Quilombos (*sic*) dos Palmares in the seventeenth century.[496]

Once again, spatial and social distancing were said to constitute or reflect black primitivism, with the denomination of quilombo/mocambo serving as historical shorthand. Now, under the banner of urban revitalization, Estado Novo ideologues advocated "coercive measures" to eliminate Brazil's "black cysts."

Agamemnon Magalhães, the federally-appointed *interventor* ("governor") of Pernambuco, undertook a government campaign to sanitize Recife's sprawling seaside slums between 1937 and 1945. More than 160,000 people, approximately one third of Recife's population, resided in mocambos, mud huts with thatched roofs named for the maroon encampments of fugitive slaves that dotted the sertão throughout the colonial period and the nineteenth century and probably contained some of their descendants. Government planners voiced dismay at squalid living conditions, chronic malnutrition, and communicable diseases that afflicted the mocambeiro population in shantytowns such as Afogados, Pina, and Estrada dos Remédios. In 1942, journalist João Duarte Filho published an exposé of Recife's mocambos for the government mouthpiece, *Cultura Política*.

> The little black boy (*negrinho*) stands naked, at the door of his mocambo, waiting for his father. His hand does not rest as it scratches his famished belly. It is the *maruim* (sandfly) the pierces the tender skin of the *negrinho*. The old black man (*negro velho*) stands thinking at the door of his miserable hovel, while scratching his thick, dirty leg as if trying to exterminate a rebellious mange. The old black woman (*negra velha*), tired and dirty, sits by the door of her kitchen, stinking of crabs. As one hand searches the head for traffic lice, another searches all corners of her body, as if looking for parasites.[497]

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[496] Ibid., 63.
[497] João Duarte Filho, "O Mocambo," *Cultura Política* 1942, 20-21.

The stigmatization of mocambeiros bore similarities to the demonization of fugitive slaves during the colonial period and the nineteenth century. Just as large landowners had vilified the land management practices and lifestyles of quilombos under slavery, Estado Novo ideologues pathologized Recife's mocambos as incubators of disease and rot.[498] Marginal black communities clearly fell on the wrong side of the nature-culture divide. The bestialization of quilombolas—as noted in the conflation of residents with crustaceans and parasites—reflects such elite disdain. Whereas under slavery, the quilombo symbolized the subversion of the seigneurial order, Vargas officials warned of "cells of discontent" that could be infiltrated by communist agitators seeking to overthrow the state government.[499]

Magalhães contrasted the "happy-go-lucky" *favelados* of Rio de Janeiro with the "restive" mocambeiros of Recife to drum up support for eviction and relocation to public housing projects. Unlike in Rio de Janeiro, where favelados "contented themselves with their samba and *macumba* (African sorcery)," Magalhães claimed that Recife's mocambeiros "awaited any excuse to protest with arms or with the dynamite of terrorists" in a city that many in his administration considered to be a "an important center of communism in the country."[500] Conjuring fears of race war and class struggle, Magalhães called for government intervention to defend "working families" and "Christian values" against the twin evils of Marxism and degeneracy.

In 1939, Agamemnon Magalhães founded the Liga Social Contra os Mocambos (The Social League Against Mocambos) to destroy Recife's mocambos and "reintegrate" their

[498] Ibid.
[499] Ibid., 25.
[500] Ibid.

inhabitants vis-à-vis expansion of public housing, healthcare, and infrastructure.[501] His administration defended the Liga Social Contra os Mocambos against critics, which included Minister of Education Gilberto Freyre, who professed the superiority of Recife's "native huts" (*cabanas nativas*) to the "European-style" housing projects favored by Magalhães's administration.[502]

"What we are witnessing today in Recife is a campaign that does not extinguish the poor person's house (*casa do pobre*), but rather extinguishes the mocambo, which is his sepulcher," Magalhães responded to Freyre in an editorial published by *Cultura Política* in 1941. "What we are trying to do is to substitute [the mocambo] for a home that bestows man with dignity and encourages him to live without revolt."[503]

In 1942, journalist Edmar Morel accompanied an Italian reporter on a tour of Recife to tout the Liga Social's achievements in bringing "healthcare and comfort" to 50,000 ex-mocambeiros. Morel took his guest to Pina, one of Recife's most notorious slums and a major battleground in the government's war. "Five years ago, there were nothing but mocambos here," Morel told the reporter.[504] "Now, there are hundreds of brick and tile homes taking the place of the miserable mocambo."[505]

Morel compared Magalhães's achievements in reforming Recife's slums to Domingos Jorge Velhos's victory over the Quilombo dos Palmares. However, whereas Palmares defeat came as the result of a "war of conquest," the journalist claimed the government had razed mocambos to bring "health and happiness" to the poor. By undertaking this "grand humanist

[501] Renata P.S. Moraes, ""O Mal Do Mocambo": O Discurso De Agamemnon Magalhães E a Busca Pela Moral E Cidadania No Recife (1937-1945)," *Conhecimento histório e diálogo social* 1, no. 1 (2013): 13.
[502] Filho, "O Mocambo," 21.
[503] Ibid., 24.
[504] Edmar Morel, "152 Horas De Vôo Através Do Brasil " *Cultura Política* 1941, 341.
[505] Ibid.

experiment," Morel contended that the government had upheld the spirit of the Quilombo dos Palmares. He wrote, "Brazil is a Republic of Palmares, augmented and civilized, without racial biases. We are a people who have received with open arms [refugees] fleeing the horrors of war. The victims of injustice and the downtrodden. As in Palmares, we do not discriminate on the basis of race, class, or tribe."

5. Quilombos and the Movimento Negro in Brazil (1950-1988)

During the postwar period, as Brazil veered from populist democracy to military dictatorship, black intellectuals and activists in Brazil recreated the quilombo as a symbol of political militancy. In 1950, Abdias do Nascimento and Edison Carneiro convened the First Black Brazilian Congress (I Congresso do Negro no Brasil) in Rio de Janeiro. Unlike the Second Afro-Brazilian Congress in Salvador in 1937, which highlighted Afro-descendant contributions to Brazil's cultural patrimony, the First Congress was more concerned with racial inequality and black socioeconomic uplift.[506] The conference assembled prominent Brazilian and foreign researchers and social activists—Florestan Fernandes, Roger Bastide, and Donald Pierson, among others—who decried racial discrimination in employment, education, housing, health care, and the criminal justice system. Abdias do Nascimento, founder of the black experimental theatre group, Teatro Experimental do Negro (TEN), criticized white intellectuals who championed Afro-Brazilian culture but offered only tepid support for their civil rights. "They like to talk about black people in Carnival and soccer. But we are here today to talk about the *negro*'s hunger and sickness, his illiteracy, his shacks, his criminality and victimization, all of

[506] Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, 191.

which come as a directly result of white Brazil's exploitation of black people," Nascimento proclaimed in his keynote address opening the First Black Brazilian Congress.[507]

Renewed debate about the nature of Brazilian race relations reflected broader transformations in postwar society. Vargas's Estado Novo crumbled under the weight of military opposition and pro-democracy activism, ushering a Second Brazilian Republic (1945-1964). The genocide perpetrated by Nazi Germany contributed to the disavowal of scientific racism in the Brazilian academy. Meanwhile, growing scholarly interest in Brazilian race relations—both from within and outside Brazil—culminated in a wave of academic research and comparative studies of slavery and race relations in Brazil and the United States during the 1940s and 1950s.[508] Proponents of racial mixture rebranded mestiçagem as "racial democracy" in recognition of Brazil's return to democratic rule. At first, Abdias do Nascimento and other activists appealed to racial democracy to advance their agenda of black uplift and social inclusion.[509] However, as conservatives invoked racial democracy to deny the existence of racism and the legitimacy of race-based grievances, black activists and intellectuals challenged Brazil's international reputation as a "racial paradise."[510]

Nascimento's 1950 conference paper, "*O Negro Revoltado*" (The Black Rebel/Malcontent), showcased maroon communities to rebut the romanticized history of slavery and race relations in Brazil.[511] He wrote: "The *negro* conquered. He did not submit. He was never passive nor peaceful. The quilombos, the slave rebellions, and other black uprisings prove

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[507] Abdias do Nascimento, *O Negro Revoltado: Organização E Apresentação De Abdias Do Nascimento* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições GRD, 1968), 30.
[508] Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil: A Study of Race Contact in Bahia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942); Roger Bastide, *Relações Raciais Entre Negros E Brancos Em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Anhembi, 1955); C.R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963); Fernandes, *A Integração Do Negro Na Sociedade De Classes*.
[509] Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, 171.
[510] Ibid, 247.
[511] The Portuguese word, "*revoltado*," could have both meanings in this context.

that, throughout history, the *negro* had a sense of his human dignity and that he always worked to fulfill his dream of freedom."[512] Nascimento's scathing repudiation of Freyre's ideas foreshadowed a confrontation between black militants and cultural conservatives about the nature of Brazilian race relations that would take place under military rule.

On March 31, 1964, the Brazilian military toppled the civilian government of João Goulart with covert backing of the United States. Goulart had supported a series of nationalist reforms, including a limit on foreign companies' profit remittances and a modest agrarian reform, that rankled large landowners and traditional elites. Soaring inflation provoked conservative sectors of the Brazilian middle class to protest Goulart's government, creating conditions for a military coup. The military junta that seized power vowed to serve as "placeholders" before ceding control to civilian leaders after democratic elections. But the elections never came.

In October 1967, the military enacted Institutional Act #5 (AI-5) that suspended habeas corpus, imposed censorship of the media, and dissolved parliament. State security forces perpetrated mass detentions, torture, and forced "disappearances" of leftists, trade unionists, student activists, and other opponents of the regime. The government further waged counterinsurgencies against various leftwing guerrilla movements, including the Armed Revolutionary Vanguard of Palmares (Vanguardia Armada Revolucionária-Palmares, VAR-Palmares), a Marxist organization that was based in urban São Paulo during the late 1960s.[513] The guerrilla group was comprised primarily of white, middle-class youths but its self-appellation reflects the subversive mystique of the quilombo.

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[512] Nascimento, *O Negro Revoltado: Organização E Apresentação De Abdias Do Nascimento* 51.
[513] Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo (AESP), 30-Z-163-201-200, Ministro de Exército, Quartel Geral, "Relatório Especial de Informações #28," October 12, 1969.

Afro-Brazilian intellectuals and activists were not primary targets of repression, but the military regime nonetheless branded critics of race relations as "black racists" anathema to Brazil's racial democracy. Touting racial democracy, the military repressed race-based political organizing and discredited allegations of racial inequality.[514] Nascimento's outspokenness about systemic racism in Brazilian society rankled an authoritarian regime favoring folkloric depictions of the country's African heritage and its racial harmony.[515] In 1968, amid a wave of self-exile by Brazilian academics, Nascimento accepted a teaching position in the Black Studies Department at the State University of New York-Buffalo. In exile, he supported the U.S. Black Power Movement and the Marxist de-colonization struggles in Africa, particularly in the former Portuguese colonies of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique. In this international climate of black empowerment, Nascimento brandished the Quilombo dos Palmares to unmask the pervasiveness of racial discrimination and inequality in Brazil.

Abdias do Nascimento's radical alternative to racial democracy, known as "*quilombismo*," promoted the "African values" of cooperation, creativity, collective labor, communal land ownership, and cultural resistance.[516] Quilombismo revealed earlier traces of Afro-Paulistano activism that rejected the traditional distinction between blacks and mulattoes and championed a culturally indistinct *negro* race.[517] Echoing the trailblazers of São Paulo's black press during the 1930s, Nascimento refashioned Zumbi and the Quilombo dos Palmares as symbols of black resistance to white supremacy, capitalism, and military rule. He wrote in 1980,

> For the institutionalization of black power, whose basic foundation is the self-determination of the Afro-Brazilian masses, we have the inspiring example of the Quilombo dos Palmares: this signifies for us the adoption of a progressive social

[514] Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, 245.
[515] Jeffrey Dávila, *Hotel Trópico: Brazil and the Challenge of African Decolonization, 1950-1980* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010).
[516] Nascimento, *O Quilombismo: Documentos De Uma Militância Negra Pan-Africanista*, 16.
[517] Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*, 57.

> structure based on the traditional communitarianism of Africa, whose long experience demonstrated that in its breast, there was no space for the exploiters and the exploited.[518]

Maroon communities not only demonstrated historical evidence of black resistance to oppression; they also stood as inspiration for Afro-Brazilian activists in their contemporary struggle for racial equality. Nascimento explained, "Quilombo does not simply refer to [a community of] runaway slaves. Quilombo stands for free and fraternal union, solidarity, co-existence, and community. A quilombola society is a stage of human and socio-political progress."[519] He identified contemporary examples of black social movements and cultural associations that embodied the "rebellious spirit" of the quilombos, including the renowned Rio de Janeiro samba schools Grêmio Recreativo Arte Negra and Escola de Samba Quilombo.[520]

Abdias do Nascimento's embrace of maroon communities as symbols of black power coincided with a proliferation of tributes to quilombos in Brazilian music, film, and popular culture. In 1974, Clara Nunes, a popular samba singer, released the single, "O Canto das Três Raças" (Song of the Three Races). An allegory of Brazilian slavery and race relations, "O Canto das Três Raças" paid tribute to Palmares with the verse, "The *negro* sung a song of revolt/ from the Quilombo dos Palmares/ where he found refuge."[521] In 1976, singer-songwriter Jorge Ben released *África Brasil*, an LP that mixed funk, Afrobeat, and MPB (Brazilian Popular Music) styles with a message of black liberation. The closing track, "Zumbi," predicted that the fabled maroon leader would someday return. "I want to know what happens when Zumbi comes back!" Ben shouted over a crescendo of horns, drums, and the high-pitched timbre of the *cuíca*.[522] In

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[518] Nascimento, *O Quilombismo: Documentos De Uma Militância Negra Pan-Africanista*, 27.
[519] Ibid., 263.
[520] Gomes, *Mocambos E Quilombos: Uma História Do Campesinato Negro No Brasil*, 127.
[521] In Portuguese, "*O negro entoou/um canto de revolta pelos ares/ no Quilombo dos Palmares/onde se refugiou.*" Clara Nunes, "O Canto Das Três Raças," in *O Canto das Três Raças* (1974).
[522] Jorge Ben, "Zumbi," in *África Brasil* (1976). The *cuíca* is a Brazilian friction drum with a large pitch range, produced by changing tension on the head of the drum.

1984, Brazilian filmmaker Carlos Diegues produced *Quilombo*, a feature film about Palmares. *Quilombo* starred the Afro-Brazilian actress and social activist, Zezé Motta, who played Zumbi's wife, Dandara, and featured a soundtrack by Brazilian pop star Gilberto Gil. Diegues's film was based on the historical monograph, *Palmares: A Guerra dos Escravos* (1973), written by historian Décio Freitas.[523]

In this context, Abdias do Nascimento and other black activist-intellectuals advanced the possibility that descendants of quilombos continued to live in the Brazilian countryside. As Nascimento conjectured in 1980,

> Our Brazil is so vast, and so much of our national territory is still unknown and unsettled that we can suppose, without a great margin of error, there are still black communities living in isolation, without firm ties to small cities and villages in our country's interior. They would be small rural localities, cut off from the lifelines of our country and maintaining traditions and cultural practices that resemble African life, under a regime of communitarian subsistence agriculture and survival.[524]

Researchers and activists flocked to the hinterlands in search of Brazil's "living quilombos."

6. "Ex-Quilombos"

Maria Beatriz do Nascimento was an Afro-Brazilian historian and social activist who conducted pioneering research of rural black communities descended from fugitive slaves in Brazil between the 1970s and 1990s. The eighth of ten children, she was born in the small Northeastern state of Sergipe to a mother who was a homemaker and a father who was a mason.[525] At age seven, Nascimento migrated with her family to Rio de Janeiro, along with tens of thousands of *nordestinos* fleeing poverty during the 1940s and 1950s.[526] In 1971, she

[523] Décio Freitas, *Palmares: A Guerra Dos Escravos* (São Paulo: Mercado Aberto, 1973).
[524] Ibid, pp. 258.
[525] Christen Smith, "Towards a Black Feminist Model of Black Atlantic Liberation: Remembering Beatriz Nascimento," *Meridians* 14, no. 2 (2016): 76.
[526] On the migration of *nordestinos* to Rio de Janeiro, see Brodwyn Fischer, *A Poverty of Rights: Citizenship and Inequality in Twentieth-Century Rio De Janeiro* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

completed a bachelor's degree in history from the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). As an undergraduate student, Nascimento interned at the Brazilian National Archives, researching the histories of quilombos and slave rebellions in Rio de Janeiro.[527] She further helped to organize several black student organizations, including the Andre Rebouças Working Group at the Fluminense Federal University.[528] In 1978, Nascimento joined the Movimento Negro Unificado (MNU), a black nationalist organization that originated in São Paulo to protest the police killing of a black cab, driver Robson Luíz. The MNU's manifesto demanded race-based rights for Afro-Brazilians in education, housing, healthcare, and employment while continuing the Frente Negra Brasileira's campaign for the creation of monuments and holidays honoring Afro-Brazilian history and culture.[529]

At a time when many activists refashioned slave-era quilombos as political symbols of black militancy, Beatriz do Nascimento instead documented the histories and lived experiences of contemporary rural black communities descended from fugitive slaves. Between 1978 and 1981, she pursued postgraduate studies in history at the Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF). For her thesis, she conducted archival research and recorded oral histories of Afro-descendant farmers residing in the rural village of Riacho in the backlands of southeastern Minas Gerais. Field work revealed that fugitive slaves and their descendants had occupied Riacho since the 1840s.[530] In fact, several members of the community invoked the term "quilombo" when they recounted their history. Nascimento wrote in 1979, "I wanted to know why the memory of their ancestors was living and felt so real. I asked my informants: why does the word 'quilombo'

[527] Smith, "Towards a Black Feminist Model of Black Atlantic Liberation: Remembering Beatriz Nascimento," 76-77.
[528] Ibid., 77.
[529] Nascimento, "Repensando O Quilombo?."
[530] Ibid.

appear everywhere around here? They responded, '*porque quilombos somos nós* (because we are quilombos)!"[531]

Nascimento's postgraduate thesis, "Alternative Black Social Systems: From Quilombos to Favelas," introduced a radical re-conceptualization of the quilombo. For Nascimento, the quilombo did not merely refer to the physical space and geographical locations where fugitive slaves found refuge.[532] Nor was the quilombo a purely symbolic space either, such as the black nationalist model of political mobilization articulated by Abdias do Nascimento in his book, *O Quilombismo*.[533] Rather, Beatriz do Nascimento defined quilombo as the "material and symbolic territorialization of black space…a social process of black self-determination and organization."[534]

Anthropologist Christen Smith explains that for Nascimento, the quilombo signified "not just a place, culture, or community, but also a verb- the ideological practice of encampment and resistance to the oppression of slavery."[535] Further, Nascimento theorized that slave-era maroons had passed down their legacies of resistance and territorial mastery onto their descendants. Nascimento explained in 1981, "A line of historical continuity connects the social systems organized by black quilombolas to the social settlements of the urban favelas, the rural black population, and other [marginalized] groups in the countryside."[536]

Like a previous generation of scholars, Beatriz do Nascimento studied quilombos to explore African "survivals" and "continuities" in Brazil. Yet unlike Northeastern folklorists, Nascimento researched quilombos and their descendants to trace their longstanding struggles for

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[531] Ibid., 3.
[532] Smith, "Towards a Black Feminist Model of Black Atlantic Liberation: Remembering Beatriz Nascimento," 76.
[533] Ibid., 77.
[534] Ibid., 79.
[535] Ibid.
[536] Maria Beatriz do Nascimento, "Sistemas Sociais Alternativos Organizados Pelos Negros: Dos Quilombos Às Favelas," in *Fundação Maria Beatriz do Nascimento* (Arquivo Nacional, 1981), 6.

autonomy and to redress marginalization of rural black communities in Brazilian historiography and society. In 1988, she proposed a new research project entitled "Historical Continuity and Discontinuity of Quilombos in the State of Rio de Janeiro, 1830-1988."[537] Nascimento outlined the goals of her new research:

> The study of survivals through an analysis of the historical memory, oral traditions, and other elements of the symbolic and socio-psychological archive of [rural black] communities that continue to inhabit these areas will fill several lacunae in the History of Brazil, both in [secondary school] textbooks as well as in the specialized academic historiography.[538]

Nascimento disseminated her research of "ex-quilombos" (contemporary black communities descended from maroons) through other media, as well. In 1989, she narrated and co-wrote with director Raquel Gerber the documentary film, *Orí*, which traced historical continuities between the Quilombo dos Palmares and contemporary rural black communities in Alagoas. Nascimento theorized that Palmarians had passed down their territorial mastery to future generations that occupied the sertão. She explained,

> Recapturing identity through land…as person who has migrated. Quilombo is a geographic space where human beings can feel the ocean…all of the cosmic energy enters your body…I feel big here. It's a black thing (*coisa de negro*), but it's a black thing because of the connection to the land. The *negro* is the one that knows the land best…just like the Dogon people. The *negro*, the color of soil…the black earth exists. It is that which we fear losing the most.[539]

Beatriz do Nascimento's research and her life ended tragically on January 28, 1995, when she was shot to death while defending a friend against an abusive partner.[540] Other black activists and intellectuals carried on her research of maroon continuities in Brazil.

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[537] "Projeto: Continuidade E Descontinuidade Histórica Dos Quilombos Do Estado Do Rio De Janeiro, 1830-1988."
[538] Ibid.
[539] Nascimento is cited in Smith, "Towards a Black Feminist Model of Black Atlantic Liberation: Remembering Beatriz Nascimento," 80.
[540] Ibid., 77.

Guilherme dos Santos Barboza, an Afro-Brazilian ethnographer and social activist, conducted anthropological research of rural black communities descended from runaway slaves in Brazil for more than forty years.[541] One of fourteen children, Barboza was born in a rural village outside the city of Xique Xique, Bahia, in the São Francisco River Valley. His parents were farmers and the grandchildren of slaves.[542] After a devastating drought, Barboza and his family relocated to São Paulo in 1952.[543] As a teenager, he became enamored with *capoeira* after attending a performance of the renowned Vicente Ferreira Pastinha (1889-1981) at the inauguration of São Paulo's Ibirapuera Park in 1954.[544] Barboza approached Pastinha after the performance and asked him to take him as a student. He recalls hitchhiking 1,200 miles to Salvador, Bahia, to train under Pastinha at his capoeira school in the Pelourinho neighborhood, a sojourn that stoked his lifelong passions for Afro-Brazilian history and culture.[545]

After returning to São Paulo, Barboza joined the Teatro Popular Brasileiro, the black experimental theater company of educator, poet, and playwright Solano Trindade.[546] Trindade taught Barboza about Palmares and the history of slave rebellion and maroon communities in Brazil. Barboza recalled, "Solano [Trindade] told me all about Zumbi and that he was a great hero. He [Trindade] was also the one who told me about the quilombos and the black people who fled to the forests in isolated areas."[547] Trindade's portrayal of historical quilombos reminded Barboza of the villages in the São Francisco River Valley that he knew from his childhood. Barboza remembered,

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[541] Barboza, "Interview with Guilherme Dos Santos Barboza."
[542] Ibid.
[543] Ibid.
[544] Ibid.
[545] Ibid.
[546] Ibid. For more about Solando Trindade, see Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*.
[547] Barboza, "Interview with Guilherme Dos Santos Barboza."

> I told him [Trindade], '*Mestre,* these quilombos you're talking about, they still exist today!' He didn't believe me. He just said, 'No, that's all from the past, they don't exist anymore.' I insisted that they did. 'Yes, they exist, *mestre*, I'm sure of it!' I remember that my colleagues were unsettled by the fact that I was arguing with *mestre* [Trindade].[548]

Barboza went back to the São Francisco River Valley in 1964 to document communities that he believed were descended from fugitive slaves.

After returning to São Paulo during the mid-1960s, Barboza pursued a degree in higher education. Barboza explained to me in a 2015 oral history, "I needed to prove that quilombos still existed when no one would believe me."[549] He enrolled in free courses in the humanities and social sciences at the Universidade Pontifícia de São Paulo (PUC), earning certificates in anthropology and social work in 1969. Yet few of Barboza's colleagues took seriously his claims about maroon survivals in Brazil. He later recalled, "I was massacred. I had never been so humiliated in my life. I was almost crying when I got home one day. I asked myself, 'Why did so many people refuse to recognize me?'"[550]

Determined, Guilherme dos Santos Barboza traveled by bus from Brazil's southern border with Uruguay to the northern Amazon to research several rural black communities descended from slaves throughout the 1970s.[551] Barboza and his wife, Josefina dos Santos Barboza, worked a series of odd jobs to support his research.[552] The couple transformed their home in São Paulo into an archive, the Center for Afro-Brazilian Research and Culture (CABEPEC), which still contains documents, photographs, and film footage of rural black

[548] Ibid.
[549] Ibid.
[550] Ibid.
[551] Ibid.
[552] Ibid.

communities compiled by Barboza during more than four decades of field work in Brazil. Barboza's extraordinary efforts soon captured the attention of influential outsiders.

In 1976, Gerhard Kubik, the renowned Austrian anthropologist and ethnomusicologist, accepted a visiting lectureship at the Centro de Estudos Africanos at the Universidade de São Paulo. Kubik learned of Barboza's research on rural black communities and visited his home in the Ipiranga neighborhood of São Paulo.[553] Kubik sought Barboza's expertise for an anthropological study examining Bantu influences upon Afro-Brazilian music.[554] The two traveled to the São Francisco River Valley for six weeks, documenting the musical traditions of Afro-descendant villages in the Bahian *sertão.* In fall 1976, Kubik invited Barboza to study and teach at the University of Vienna.[555] For the first time in his career, Barboza obtained institutional support for his field work.

In 1978, the Center for Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research at the University of Vienna published Barboza's first article, an ethnographic study of Cafundó.[556] Located 150 kilometers west from São Paulo city and 15 kilometers from the city of Salto de Pirapora, Cafundó is a small rural village inhabited by nine families descended from Bantu slaves.[557] Cafundó was never a quilombo in the legal sense of the term; the freed Angolan slaves who settled the village in 1866 had received the lands as gifts (*terras doadas*) from their former masters.[558] Still, Cafundó captured the attention of Barboza and other researchers in March 1978

[553] Ibid.
[554] Kubik credits Barboza's assistance in the article, Gerhard Kubik, "Drum Patterns in the 'Batuque' of Benedito Caxias," *Latin American Music Review* 11, no. 2 (1990).
[555] Barboza, "Interview with Guilherme Dos Santos Barboza."
[556] "Cafundó, Uma Comunidade Que Corre O Riso De Dissolução."

[557] Ibid.
[558] Ibid. See also, Carlos Vogt and Peter Fry, *Cafundó: A África No Brasil* (Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 1996).

when a Sorocaba newspaper, *O Cruzeiro do Sul,* reported that residents of the community had retained the Kimbundu language of their ancestors.[559]

In May 1978, Barboza and Kubik traveled to Cafundó to record oral histories of village elders. They discovered that residents did not speak Kimbundu at all; rather, they created an argot that was structurally similar to Brazilian Portuguese with a large number of Bantu words in its lexicon.[560] Barboza wrote in 1978, "[The residents] speak the same Portuguese that is spoken in the [São Paulo city], however, when they wish not to be understood in the presence of strangers, they will often play a word game (*jogo de palavras*), which is understood only by members of the community."[561]

Barboza was initially drawn to Cafundó because of its purported African survivals. Yet he also came to express solidarity with members of the community who struggled to defend ancestral lands from cattle ranchers and urban developers. Barboza used his first article to publicize Cafundó's longstanding struggles for land, resources, and autonomy. He wrote:

> The only way to get there [Cafundó] is on a dusty road surrounded by forests, many ranches, and green nature…The people [in Cafundó] receive no social assistance [from the government], they survive from what they cultivate, and acquire other goods in the city [Salto da Pirapora], which is a five-hour trek on foot. About 45 people live there, including children, young adults, and elderly persons…According to Otávio Caetano [a local resident], the lands belonged to all and once covered 28 acres (*alqueires*). However, today the people control just eight acres. Unscrupulous persons are constantly pressuring [the residents of Cafundó] to abandon their lands and [outsiders] have seized their plots with impunity.[562]

Barboza had, in fact, stumbled upon the contemporary challenges facing many quilombo-descendant and Afro-Brazilian rural communities: land invasion and violent conflict. Social

[559] *Cafundó: A África No Brasil*, 16.
[560] Ibid.
[561] Barboza, "Cafundó, Uma Comunidade Que Corre O Riso De Dissolução," 93-94.
[562] Ibid., 94-95.

thinkers across the political spectrum had conjured historic quilombos to serve varied political agendas, from the perils to Brazil's racial democracy to its hollowness. But in the countryside, maroon-descendant communities were confronting threats to their very existence. Like their ancestors, they would struggle to survive through mastery of the natural environment as well as the forging of strategic alliances.

Chapter Four:

Frontier Development, Rural Black Activism, and the Historical Emergence of Article 68, 1964-1994

Something unthinkable took place in the Brazilian countryside during the 1970s. Farmers and fishermen who were branded by outsiders as peasants, sharecroppers, and squatters demanded legal recognition and collective land rights by politically asserting Afro-descendant identities. Most striking, they claimed descent from quilombos and mocambos, clandestine settlements of fugitive slaves that dotted the landscapes of the Brazilian Northeast, the gold mines of Minas Gerais, the banks of Amazonian rivers, and beyond. Rural black political mobilization was most prevalent in the countryside of Maranhão and Pará, where poor communities displaced by military-sponsored frontier development projects during the 1970s and 1980s expressed Afro-descendant identities rooted in a collective past to claim historical dominion over disputed territories. In so doing, rural Afro-Brazilians challenged the conventional wisdom that former slaves and ex-maroons assimilated into a rural peasantry devoid of racial consciousness and historical memory. In fact, many rural black communities transformed a history of communal resistance to slavery into a moral appeal to pressure the Brazilian government to recognize their claims to ancestral lands. Although Afro-Brazilian peasants might have traditionally known and called their territories by vernacular and affective names, to these they would now add a new political moniker: quilombo.

A wide range of scholarship has addressed the emergence of ethnic-and racially-based social movements in Brazil and Latin America during the final three decades of the twentieth

century.[563] In the case of quilombo-descendants in Brazil (*remanescentes de quilombos*), anthropologist Jan French introduced the concept of "legalizing identities" to understand how the enactment of multicultural citizenship reforms—most notably the Indian Statute of 1973 and the 1988 "Quilombo Law" (Article 68)—led rural communities in Brazil that had previously self-identified as "peasants" to assert indigenous and quilombola identities.[564] What remains understudied, however, is how Article 68 came to be introduced at the constitutional convention in the first place. Likewise, in need of further research is the degree to which groups that are today recognized by the Brazilian government as "remanescentes de quilombos" had or had not mobilized politically on the basis of race before the ratification of Article 68.

We know so little about the historical origins of the Quilombo Movement due to the paucity of archival sources about rural black activism in Brazil during the twentieth century. After all, many rural descendants of slaves were illiterate and articulated their collective past and social memory through oral traditions rather than the written word.[565] Yet unequal access to the

[563] Garfield, *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil: State Policy, Frontier Expansion, and the Xavante Indians, 1937-1988.*; Engel, *The Elusive Promise of Indigenous Development: Rights, Culture, Strategy*.; Escobar, *Territories of Difference: Place, Movement, Life, Redes.*; Oslender, *The Geographies of Social Movements.*; French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*; Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*.; O'Dwyer, *Quilombos: Identidade Étnica E Territorialidade*.; Hale, "Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights, and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala."; Juliet Hooker, "Indigenous Inclusion/Black Exclusion: Race, Ethnicity, and Multicultural Citizenship in Latin America," ibid.37 (2005).

[564] French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 1-4. For scholarly research of *remanescentes de quilombos* in Brazil, see Almeida, *Terras De Preto, Terras De Santo, E Terras De Índio: Posse Comum E Conflito*; *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias*; *Traditionally Occupied Lands in Brazil*; Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*; Miriam de Fátima Chagas, "A Política Do Reconhecimento Dos 'Remanescentes Das Comunidades Dos Quilombos'," *Horizontes Antropológicos* 7, no. 15 (2001); Farfán-Santos, *Black Bodies, Black Rights: The Politics of Quilombolismo in Brazil*; O'Dwyer, *Quilombos: Identidade Étnica E Territorialidade*. Oscar De La Torre, "The Land Is Ours and We Are Free to Do All That We Want: Quilombos and Black Rural Protest in Amazonia, Brazil, 1917-1929," *The Latin Americanist* 56 (2012); "Are They Really Quilombos? Black Peasants, Politics, and the Meaning of Quilombo in Present-Day Brazil," *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 3, no. 1 (2013).

[565] See Price, *First-Time: The Historical Vision of an African American People*; Stucchi et al., "Comunidades Negras De Ivaporunduva, São Pedro, Pedro Cubas, Sapatu, Nhunguara, André Lopes, Maria Rosa E Pilões."

means of historical narrative production only partially explains the absence of histories about post-emancipation rural communities.

I contend that the possibility for mass political mobilization on the basis of race and ethnicity in the Brazilian countryside was *unimaginable* to many observers, regardless of (or perhaps due to) their racial background and political affiliation.[566] Few social scientists thought to address rural Afro-Brazilian social consciousness before 1988 because it did not fit the prevailing narratives about the nature of race relations, slavery, and emancipation in Brazil. Nor did a politicized black peasantry adhere to leftist models touting the revolutionary potential of peasant masses.[567] Chapter Four argues that the historical subjectivities and racial consciousness of rural black communities descended from slaves were silenced or ignored during the one-hundred years between abolition in 1888 and the promulgation of the 1988 Federative Constitution of the Republic of Brazil. Further, it traces how Afro-descendant farmers, fishermen, and extractivists made their voices heard by forging alliances with influential outsiders to demand rights and defend ancestral lands.

I engage with Michel-Rolph Trouillot's theoretical framework for understanding "how history works." In his seminal book, *Silencing the Past*, Trouillot argues that socio-historical processes intertwine with the construction of narratives about the past.[568] He emphasizes the hazy distinction and overlap marking the end of an historical event and its official remembrance and vice versa.[569] He contends that the creation of narratives about the past involve the "uneven contributions of competing groups and individuals with unequal access to the means of such

[566] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).
[567] Francisco Julião, *Cambão: As Ligas Camponesas* (Coimbra: Centelha, 1975).
[568] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, 23.
[569] Ibid.

protection" and as such, almost inevitably produce what he termed "historical silences."[570] These silences enter the process of historical narrative production during four key stages: the moment of fact creation (the making of sources); the moment of fact assembly (the making of archives); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of narratives); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of history in the final instance).[571]

Trouillot endeavors to explain the "general silencing" of the Haitian Revolution of 1801 in Western historiography until after the Second World War. He reasons that because Haitian historiography borrowed heavily from Western conventions, such as requiring literacy in French language and culture, predominately Kreole-speaking Haitians were denied access to the process of crafting narratives about the revolution and its significance.[572] Still, he asserts that something else much more profound was at play. Trouillot contends that the very act of African slaves and freed blacks overthrowing the planter class, ending slavery, and installing a "Black Republic" was unthinkable to observers as it happened.[573] He asks, "If some acts cannot be accepted even as they occur, how can they be assessed later? In other words, can historical narratives convey plots that are unthinkable in the world within which these narratives take place? How does one write a history of the impossible?"[574]

Chapter Four applies Trouillot's thesis to examine the "silencing" of quilombos and their descendants in post-emancipation Brazil.[575] Government policies contributed to the erasure of rural black communities during the "moments of fact creation and fact assembly," the beginning stages of Trouillot's four-step process of historical narrative production.[576] Population censuses

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[570] Ibid.
[571] Ibid., 26.
[572] Ibid., 27.
[573] Ibid., 73.
[574] Ibid.
[575] Gomes, *Mocambos E Quilombos: Uma História Do Campesinato Negro No Brasil*, 120-21.
[576] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, 26.

of 1900 and 1920 did not include race and only reintroduced it as a category in 1940.[577] Further, as Melissa Nobles has shown, in 1940, the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (IBGE) omitted the intermediate racial category of *pardo* as a census option, seeking to persuade respondents to self-identify as "white"—and thereby assure the confirmation bias of social scientists.[578] In rural areas, the Brazilian government seldom surveyed communities (*comunidades*), neighborhoods (*bairros*), villages (*vilas*), and small rural properties (*sítios*) occupied by black, mixed-race, and indigenous populations.[579] Moreover, agricultural censuses counted only registered land holdings such as farms, ranches, and plantations, ignoring the *de facto* dominion that scores of maroon descendants had retained over their lands.[580] Nor did government censuses recognize the labor practices of rural black communities, which typically consisted of family-based farming, fishing, and extraction combined with seasonal work on large rural estates.[581] The "invisibility" of Afro-Brazilian peasants contributed to their marginalization and exclusion from the social rights of citizenship, such as access to education, health care, social security, transportation, electricity, and communication.[582] As Chapter Four will argue, social exclusion made rural black communities vulnerable to land grabbing (*grilagem*) and the

[577] Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*, 9.; Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*, 31.
[578] Melissa Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 98-101.
[579] Gomes, *Mocambos E Quilombos: Uma História Do Campesinato Negro No Brasil*, 120-21.; Almeida, *Traditionally Occupied Lands in Brazil*, 67-71.
[580] *Traditionally Occupied Lands in Brazil*, 68. Brazil has two categories for land registration and census, namely "establishment," which is used by the IBGE agricultural censuses and "rural property," or unit of domain, which is used by the National Institute of Agricultural Colonization (INCRA)'s registry for taxation purposes. Since 1950, the Brazilian agricultural census described an "agricultural settlement" as "any continuous land area, regardless of size or location (urban or rural), consisting of one or more parcels, subject to a single product, where agricultural exploration takes place, namely, the cultivation of land with permanent or temporary crops, including vegetables and flowers; the raising and fattening of medium-sized and large livestock; the raising of small animals, silviculture and reforestation and the extraction of plant products."
[581] Ibid., 67-71.;Gomes, *Mocambos E Quilombos: Uma História Do Campesinato Negro No Brasil*, 121.
[582] *Mocambos E Quilombos: Uma História Do Campesinato Negro No Brasil*, 121.

invasion of agro-industry, mining and timber companies, and hydroelectric projects to develop the Brazilian countryside during the twentieth century.

The silencing of rural Afro-descendants carried over into the "moments of fact retrieval and retrospective significance." A range of actors—intellectuals, lawmakers, clergy, urban black activists, anthropologists, and attorneys—articulated narratives about the nature of race relations, slavery, and abolition in Brazil. These narratives reflected the outcomes of "uneven contributions of competing groups," and thus managed to obscure the subjectivities, social consciousness, and historical memory of a marginalized social class: the black, indigenous, and mixed-race rural poor and the descendants of slaves and maroons, in particular.

In Brazil, the prevailing narrative describing race and slavery has been labeled the myth of "racial democracy," the notion that widespread biological and cultural intermixture between Africans, Europeans, and Indians during the colonial period had diluted racial distinctions and engendered a *mestiço* Brazilian population.[583] Proponents pointed to high degrees of racial mixture as proof that Brazilians did not discriminate on the basis of color. The experience of slavery was also said to be more benign in Brazil than elsewhere in the Americas, especially the United States.[584] As scholars have noted, these ideas gained traction during the decade of the 1930s, when Getúlio Vargas's Estado Novo dictatorship embraced racial mixture as a hallmark

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[583] For "racial democracy," see Degler, *Neither Black, nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States*; Thales de Azevedo, *Democracia Racial: Ideologia E Realidade* (Rio de Janeiro: Vozes, 1975); Michael Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio De Janeiro and São Paulo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Twine, *Racism in a Racial Democracy: The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil*; Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths & Histories*; Robin Sheriff, *Dreaming Equality: Color, Race, and Racism in Urban Brazil* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001); Livio Sansone, *Blackness without Ethnicity: Constructing Race in Brazil* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*; Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States*; Romo, *Brazil's Living Museum: Race, Reform, and Tradition in Bahia*; Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*. Paixão, *500 Anos De Solidão: Ensaios Sobre as Desigualdades Raciais No Brasil*.

[584] See Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves*; Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*.

of Brazilian nationhood and appealed to Brazil's ostensibly smooth race relations to temper the social tensions that accompanied modernization.[585] Fifty years after the publication of Gilberto Freyre's *The Masters and the Slaves*, conservative lawmakers continued to invoke discourses of racial harmony to claim that recognition of distinct indigenous and Afro-descendant identities would stoke U.S.-style racial tensions. Conveniently, such dogmatism also served to squelch demands for the enactment of compensatory policies as reparations for slavery and discrimination on the centenary of abolition.

Not all Brazilians of color, of course, subscribed to such romantic depictions of race relations by the 1970s. As discussed in Chapter Three, black activists and intellectuals like Abdias do Nascimento and Beatriz do Nascimento unmasked the myth of "racial democracy" by protesting police brutality and widespread inequalities in employment, education, housing, and health care. They showcased historical maroon communities as evidence that Afro-descendants had resisted enslavement and domination. Far from a racial paradise, black activists portrayed Brazil, by far the largest importer of African slaves and the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery, as a racial hell. Nonetheless, many adherents and detractors of racial democracy agreed on one thing: discourses of mestiçagem had managed to neutralize racial identification, particularly among poor nonwhites, in a nation where Afro-descendants constituted a significant portion of the population. Even members of the Movimento Negro Unificado typically spoke of quilombos as historical relics and icons for political radicalization, rather than focusing on the histories and lived experiences of their descendants in rural communities.

[585] See McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music and the Making of Modern Brazil* ; Romo, *Brazil's Living Museum: Race, Reform, and Tradition in Bahia*; Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*; Albuquerque, *The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast*.

Despite their "invisibility" in urban areas, Afro-Brazilian peasants managed to reassert their historical subjectivities to reclaim rights. Drawing from oral histories, Catholic Church archives, and congressional hearings, Chapter Four traces how the descendants of quilombos residing in the Turiaçu River Valley of Maranhão told their stories of resistance to slavery and domination to influential outsiders, including progressive sectors of the Brazilian Catholic Church, anthropologists, and urban black activists, during the 1970s. These allies would advocate for compensatory legislation for the descendants of fugitive slaves at the 1987-1988 National Constituent Assembly, culminating with the ratification of Article 68 on October 5, 1988. Residents of contemporary black communities such as São José de Brito, Jamary dos Pretos, and Capoeira de Gado claimed descent from quilombolas who resisted slavery and staged rebellions against fazendeiros in the Baixada Ocidental Maranhense during the mid-nineteenth century. Like their ancestors, whose struggle for freedom was explored in Chapter Two, these communities forged alliances with sectors of dominant society to defend their lands and livelihoods, demonstrating their fundamentally adaptive capacities as historical actors.

This chapter, tracing the rise of rural black political mobilization in Northeastern Brazil and the emergence of the Quilombo Law, is divided into three sections. The first part revisits how the onslaught of military-led development in the Brazilian hinterlands between the 1960s and 1980s endangered the livelihoods of predominately black, indigenous, and mixed-race small farmers, squatters, and rural workers with tenuous access to land and resources. It considers how the arrival of Liberationist Catholic pastoral agents in the Baixada Ocidental Maranhense triggered the rise of a "*terras de preto*" (black lands) movement, a precursor to the contemporary Quilombo Movement, in which rural black communities that are today recognized as "quilombo

descendants" (*remanescentes de quilombos*) pressed for titles to communal lands by invoking their maroon ancestry.

The second part uncovers how the *terras de preto* movement secured the backing of Church leadership, as well as the Movimento Negro Unificado (MNU), which adopted a resolution calling for legal recognition and territorial rights for the descendants of fugitive slaves a year prior to the convocation of the 1987-1988 Constituent Assembly. The final section revisits the assembly debates that resulted in the inclusion of the Quilombo Law in Brazil's 1988 Constitution. It considers how terminological ambiguity and the delayed enforcement of Article 68 not only reflected not a lack of political willpower, but also legislators' stubborn reluctance to acknowledge the reality that poor peasants had articulated black and maroon-descendant identities to claim rights.

1. The Brazilian Military Regime and Frontier Colonization

It is perhaps no accident that the social movements for quilombo recognition gathered steam in the Amazon region during military rule. In April 1964, the Brazilian armed forces ousted President João Goulart, paving the way for 21 years of military rule. Goulart's government was plagued by soaring inflation, sluggish economic growth, and worsening political polarization.[586] The mobilization of peasant leagues in the Brazilian Northeast disquieted ruling classes who feared the rise of a "Cuban style" insurgency in the poorest sub-region of Latin America.[587] Rural and urban elites clamored for military intervention to stem the tide of a populist democracy that endorsed agrarian reform and wealth redistribution. The Brazilian armed forces purged leftists from government and quashed peasant and labor

[586] Garfield, *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil: State Policy, Frontier Expansion, and the Xavante Indians, 1937-1988*.
[587] Anthony Pereira, *The End of the Peasantry: The Rural Labor Movement in Northeast Brazil, 1961-1988* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997).

movements with covert backing from the United States. The military's platform to revive financial markets, rectify regional imbalances, and bolster national security provoked a sea change in Brazilian politics.[588] Military leaders turned to frontier development as a panacea for the nation's laggard growth and simmering social strife.

Efforts to colonize the Brazilian hinterlands were not unprecedented. During the Estado Novo (1937-1945), Getúlio Vargas aimed to promote capital accumulation in the Amazon, a region that covered 39 percent of Brazilian land area, but which contained only eight percent of the population and enjoyed less than four percent of national income.[589] His postwar administration established the Superintendency for the Economic Valorization of the Amazon (SPVEA) in 1953, a federal agency that oversaw agro-export commodity growth and the construction of Belém-Brasília Highway.[590] The procession of military officers that succeeded Goulart significantly expanded the scope and scale of prior development initiatives by welcoming foreign private investment and securing $3.5 billion in loans from international lending institutions like the World Bank and the U.S. Import-Export Bank.[591]

The military government in 1966 created the administrative category of *Amazônia Legal* (Legal Amazon), a geographical sub-region covering five million square kilometers in sparsely populated areas inhabited by poor and predominately Afro-descendant, indigenous, and mixed-race extractivists, small farmers, and rural workers.[592] Encompassing the present-day states of Amapá, Acre, Roraima, Pará, Amazonas, and Rondônia, and featuring parts of northern Goiás,

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[588] See Thomas Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil, 1930-1964: An Experiment in Democracy*, 40th Anniversary ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[589] Shelton Davis, *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 40-41.
[590] Garfield, *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil: State Policy, Frontier Expansion, and the Xavante Indians, 1937-1988*, 140-41.
[591] Davis, *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil*, 41.
[592] Garfield, *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil: State Policy, Frontier Expansion, and the Xavante Indians, 1937-1988*, 140.

Mato Grosso, and western Maranhão, Legal Amazon was viewed by the military as a potential "trouble spot" due to its precarious links to traditional centers of power and its proximity to porous and unregulated international borders.[593] The regime supplanted SPVEA with the Superintendency for the Development of the Amazon (SUDAM) in 1966 and charged the agency with designing and streamlining regional development policies.

SUDAM embraced familiar prescriptions for rural colonization, including the privatization of vacant public lands (*terras devolutas*), modernization of the agro-export sector, infrastructural expansion, mineral exploration, and construction of hydroelectric dams and power plants.[594] The bureau unveiled an ambitious fiscal and tax-incentives program to coax entrepreneurs in São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Rio de Janeiro to reinvest their taxable income in cattle ranching and corporate farms in the Amazon.[595] The campaign coincided with President Emilio Garrastazu Médici's proclamation in October 1970 of the "National Plan for Integration" (PIN). PIN called for construction of the Trans-Amazon Highway and investment of an additional $1 billion for roads, rural re-settlement, mineral exploration, hydroelectricity, and port construction in the Amazon Basin over a period of five years.[596]

The Brazilian government entertained two diverging strategies for frontier development when General Ernesto Geisel assumed the presidency in 1974.[597] The first option, represented by the Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA), sought to quell rural unrest in the Brazilian Northeast by subsidizing the resettlement of five million *nordestino* peasants along a

[593] Susanna Hecht and Alexander Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers, and Defenders in the Amazon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 114-15.
[594] Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil (CNBB), *Pastoral Da Terra: Posse E Conflitos* (São Paulo: Editores Paulinas, 1976), 55-57.
[595] Ibid., 74-75.
[596] Davis, *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil*, 41.
[597] Ibid., 126.

100 kilometer stretch of public land alongside the Trans-Amazon Highway.[598] The project advanced key national security objectives. Long considered vectors of leftwing subversion or victims of drought, nordestino migrants would be transformed by the Médici regime into "responsible settlers and small agriculturalists" furnished with small parcels of land and credit in "humid and unsettled corners of the Center-West and Maranhão."[599] By contrast, the second model of frontier development called for additional fiscal and tax incentives to court investment in large-scale cattle ranching, livestock, and agribusiness.[600]

Geisel's administration chose the latter. In September 1974, the Brazilian government initiated a new project called "*Polamazônia*" that established fifteen "poles of development" in the Amazon for the purposes of cattle ranching, timber, and mineral extraction.[601] Corporate executives, lobbying for government support of cattle ranching, argued that the sector's minimal labor and infrastructural requirements were more suitable to the Legal Amazon than small farming due to the region's sparse population, services, and transportation networks. The Association of Amazonian Entrepreneurs (AEA), a business association headquartered in São Paulo, persuaded the Geisel administration to pledge $5 billion for cattle ranching ventures in Legal Amazon between 1975-1980.[602] INCRA's plans to sell over 52 million acres in public lands in the Amazon to cattle ranching and timber enterprises signaled a historical watershed for millions of Afro-descendant, indigenous, and mixed-race peasants, squatters, and landless workers residing in the Brazilian frontier.[603] Suddenly, territories long occupied by the

[598] (CNBB), *Pastoral Da Terra: Posse E Conflitos*, 90-92.
[599] Ibid. For a superb analysis of the socioeconomic and health conditions of *nordestino* migrants during the 1970s, see Buckley, *Technocrats and the Politics of Drought and Development in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, 215-25.
[600] Davis, *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil*, 121.
[601] Ibid.
[602] Garfield, *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil: State Policy, Frontier Expansion, and the Xavante Indians, 1937-1988*, 147-48.
[603] Davis, *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil*, 113.

descendants of slaves, many lacking title, would be contested by powerful outsiders backed by government officials.

2. The "*terras de preto*" movement in Maranhão

On May 14, 1978, João Marquês and his son, Neraldo, awoke at dawn to tend to their roças in the village of São José de Brito.[604] For more than a century, the Marquês family called the Baixada Ocidental Maranhense home, a tropical sub-region covered by mangrove swamps, babaçu palm trees, lagoons, and lush, riparian forests along the Atlantic Coast of northwestern Maranhão.[605] They were the descendants of fugitive slaves who escaped the cotton plantations and cattle ranches of Alcântara, finding sanctuary in the rainforests of Turiaçu. As explored in Chapter Two, the maroons of São Benedito do Céu and Limoeiro were small farmers who maintained friendly relations with free and enslaved neighbors, staging an uprising in 1867 against fazendeiros in the municipality of Viana at the height of the Paraguayan War.[606] After military campaigns destroyed the quilombos of São Benedito do Céu and Limoeiro in 1867 and 1877, their survivors managed to establish dozens of new villages, including São José de Brito, Jamary dos Pretos, and Capoeira de Gado.[607] These communities, which today are home to more than 6,000 families recognized by the Brazilian government as "*remanescentes de quilombos*," were settled by ex-maroons, freed slaves (*libertos*), and squatters (*posseiros*) during the final decades of Brazilian slavery.[608] Much like their ancestors, the Marquês family scraped together a

[604] CPT-MA, "Carta Do Cpt-Ma Ao Sr. Governador Do Estado De Maranhão, Sr. Secretário Do Interior, Sr. Superintendente Da Polícia Federal Do Maranhão, Sr. Secretário De Segurança Do Estado Do Maranhão," (São Luís: Sociedade Maranhense de Defesa dos Direitos Humanos (SMDDH), 1978), 1-9.
[605] Ibid.
[606] Araújo, *Insurreição De Escravos Em Viana*; Assunção, "Quilombos in the Province of Maranhão, Brazil."
[607] See Davi Pereira Júnior, *Quilombos De Alcântara: Território E Conflito* (Manaus: Editora da Universidade Federal do Amazonas, 2009); Almeida, *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias*; Torre, "Are They Really Quilombos? Black Peasants, Politics, and the Meaning of Quilombo in Present-Day Brazil."
[608] Júnior, *Quilombos De Alcântara: Território E Conflito*; Almeida, *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias*; Torre, "Are They Really Quilombos? Black Peasants, Politics, and the Meaning of Quilombo in Present-Day Brazil."

living from family-based farming, hunting, fishing, as well as commercial extraction of palm hearts. Although they lived in poverty, João and Neraldo Marquês enjoyed de facto dominion over ancestral plots that were considered vacant public lands (*terras devolutas*). That is, until the arrival of paulista ranchers and their cattle and buffalo herds during the mid-1970s.[609]

Maranhão, one of Brazil's poorest states, occupied a major theater in government-sponsored frontier colonization. In 1960, construction began on the BR-316 Federal Highway linking Maranhão to the neighboring state of Pará, leading to a spike in property values from the speculative bubble in the northeastern Amazon.[610] A decade later, under the Médici regime, the Maranhão Colonization Company (COMARCO) was tasked with privatizing 1.7 million hectares of public lands.[611] COMARCO awarded deeds to many São Paulo-based ranching companies, including Sambra, Varis, Coelho, and Cacique.[612] The expansion of commercial ranching exacerbated the unequal distribution of land and resources in a state where *latifundiários* claimed 80 percent of arable land and where smallholders owned just seven percent.[613] Antônio Pinto de Freitas, a rancher from São Paulo, arrived in Turiaçu in 1976, purchasing a ranch along the Jamary River.[614] Pinto's ranch encroached on plots occupied by residents of Jamary dos Pretos and São José de Brito.[615] When residents refused to leave, Freitas let his buffalo loose to trample their subsistence garden plots.

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[609] Madeleine Cousineau Adriance, *Promised Land: Base Christian Communities and the Struggle for the Amazon* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 58.
[610] Regina Celi Miranda Reis Luna, *A Terra Era Liberta: Um Estudo Da Luta Dos Posseiros Pela Terra No Vale Do Pindaré-Ma* (São Luís: UFMA, 1984), 44.
[611] (CNBB), *Pastoral Da Terra: Posse E Conflitos*, 45.
[612] Ibid.
[613] Negro, *Terras De Preto No Maranhão: Quebrando O Mito Do Isolamento*, 33.
[614] CPT-MA, "Carta Do Cpt-Ma Ao Sr. Governador Do Estado De Maranhão, Sr. Secretário Do Interior, Sr. Superintendente Da Polícia Federal Do Maranhão, Sr. Secretário De Segurança Do Estado Do Maranhão," 2.
[615] Ibid.

On May 14, 1978, João and Neraldo Marquês discovered that their harvest of cassava, rice, and beans was destroyed.[616] Overcome with rage, João Marquês shot and killed two of Pinto's buffaloes with his rifle. Police arrested João and Neraldo Marquês a week later and detained the two men in the Turiaçu jail, where they were beaten, tortured, and interrogated for several days.[617] "It is with great sadness that we inform you about what happened to our *companheiros*, João and Neraldo, in the Turiaçu jail," neighbors wrote to the governor of Maranhão with the help of a Catholic priest in July 1978. "Yet again, we have proof that we, *gente do povo* (men of the people), are worth less than a buffalo in the eyes of the law."[618] The incident stood out among countless violent confrontations between rural black communities and fazendeiros in the Baixada Ocidental Maranhense during the 1970s.

Several factors had exposed the descendants of quilombos in Maranhão to the onslaught of military-led frontier development during the 1970s. Many ex-maroons were ascribed or assumed socio-legal identities as *posseiros* (squatters) following emancipation.[619] Brazilian law has long articulated conflicting positions regarding the legitimacy of territorial claims based on *posse* (squatting).[620] To revitalize commodity agriculture and ensure a labor pool to supplant the institution of slavery, the 1850 Land Law discouraged squatting by requiring landholders to register their properties with the state.[621] Yet the 1850 Land Law also created conditions for posseiros to legitimate their holdings.[622] Article 8 declared that *sesmarias* (royal land grants) and

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[616] Ibid.
[617] Ibid., 3.
[618] Ibid.
[619] Luna, *A Terra Era Liberta: Um Estudo Da Luta Dos Posseiros Pela Terra No Vale Do Pindaré-Ma*, 3; Negro, *Terras De Preto No Maranhão: Quebrando O Mito Do Isolamento*, 103.
[620] James Holston, "The Misrule of Law: Land and Usurpation in Brazil," *Comparative Studies in Society and HIstory* 33, no. 4 (1991): 175.
[621] Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths & Histories*, 170.
[622] Santos, *Cleansing Honor with Blood: Masculinity, Violence, and Power in the Backlands of Northeast Brazil, 1845-1889*, 93.

posses would be considered legitimate by the state if their occupants could verify their "productive use" and "peaceful occupation." Another clause allowed squatters to regularize their plots after paying taxes and legal fees to secure title.[623] This legal principle of *usucapião*, or adverse possession, is still upheld in Brazilian jurisprudence although subject to rigorous criteria for eligibility, challenging means of verification, and often violent processes of enforcement.[624]

Historically, the possibility of formalizing *posses* eluded many poor rural Afro-Brazilians who relied on family-based agriculture for their subsistence and who wished to minimize their interactions with state officials.[625] Rather, the status of their informal occupation of public lands was constantly re-negotiated through local power brokers (*coronéis*) and corrupt intermediaries.[626] With the rise in land values, many throughout the Turiaçu River Valley fell victim to speculators who falsified land deeds to usurp public lands, a practice known in Brazil as *grilagem* (land grabbing).[627] The practice of grilagem endangered communities following passage of the 1964 Land Statute (*Estatuto da Terras*), which promoted privatization of public lands for the purposes of commercial ranching and agriculture.[628]

Raising their voices in defense of territorial rights, Afro-Brazilian communities advanced an alternative form of development. Just as their ancestors made common cause with libertos, plantation slaves, and army deserters, rural black communities throughout Turiaçu cemented alliances with the Liberationist Catholic Church, anthropologists, and the urban black movement.

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[623] Holston, "The Misrule of Law: Land and Usurpation in Brazil," 175.
[624] Santos, *Cleansing Honor with Blood: Masculinity, Violence, and Power in the Backlands of Northeast Brazil, 1845-1889*, 93. See also Fischer, *A Poverty of Rights: Citizenship and Inequality in Twentieth-Century Rio De Janeiro*, 222.
[625] Almeida, *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias*, 62.
[626] Luna, *A Terra Era Liberta: Um Estudo Da Luta Dos Posseiros Pela Terra No Vale Do Pindaré-Ma*, 5.
[627] Holston, "The Misrule of Law: Land and Usurpation in Brazil," 710. Negro, *Terras De Preto No Maranhão: Quebrando O Mito Do Isolamento*, 34.
[628] O Presidente da República, "Lei 4.504 De 30 De Novembro De 1964," ed. Subchefia para Assuntos Jurídicos Casa Civil (1964); Cliff Welch, *The Seed Was Planted: The São Paulo Roots of Brazil's Rural Labor Movement, 1924-1964* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 343.

The backing of progressive sectors of the Catholic Church proved paramount to the political mobilization of maroon descendants. Armed with a language of "human rights" and the "preferential option for the poor," Afro-Brazilian peasants arose to challenge forces that long conspired to "silence their past." Learning to read, write, and interpret Brazilian law, rural black communities became what Michel-Rolph Trouillot has termed "historical subjects: voices that became aware of their own vocality."[629] Farmers in São José de Brito, Jamary dos Pretos, Capoeira de Gado, and scores of rural black communities throughout the Baixada Ocidental Maranhense transformed shared histories of resistance to slavery and planter exploitation into a moral appeal to pressure authorities to recognize their dominion of ancestral lands. Key to the struggle was finding influential allies who would listen and strategize.

3. Rural Black Communities and the Liberationist Catholic Church in Maranhão

In Brazil, where one percent of the population owned more than 50 percent of the land during the 1970s, the progressive wing of the Catholic Church supported rural black communities in their struggles against developers.[630] The Church's affinity for the descendants of slaves stemmed from the teachings of Liberation Theology, an ecumenical movement that emerged in Latin America during the 1960s that re-conceptualized the Christian faith from the perspective of the poor and the oppressed.[631] According to sociologist Christian Smith, Liberation Theology contends that God is working, and that God's people should therefore also be working, in history, to combat and eradicate all forms of domination and oppression, whether social, political, economic, or spiritual.[632] Proponents portray Jesus Christ as an historical actor

[629] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, 23.
[630] French, "A Tale of Two Priests and Two Struggles: Liberation Theology from Dictatorship to Democracy in the Brazilian Northeast."
[631] Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, 27.
[632] Ibid.

whose life, death, and resurrection challenged structural inequalities and threatened traditional bases of power.[633]

Liberation Theology subverts the traditional paradigm of faith, reflection, and action. Whereas mainstream theology begins with the "universal truths" of the Bible and Church and later applied them to everyday life, Liberationists work for liberation first and then formulate theology upon a reflection on *praxis*.[634] Liberation Theology calls upon the Catholic Church to engage the poor and marginalized sectors of Latin American society through pastoral work. Adherents seek nothing less than the total conversion of the Catholic Church itself.[635] Gustavo Gutiérrez, a Peruvian priest and prominent Liberationist intellectual, summarized the goals of Liberation Theology. He wrote in 1971, "Instead of talking about the Church of the poor, we must *become* a poor Church."[636]

The emergence of Liberation Theology in Latin America coincided with major institutional reforms within the Catholic Church. At the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), Pope John XXIII attempted to moderate the Church's political platform to rekindle dwindling lay participation worldwide.[637] Catholic leadership sought a "middle ground" between capitalism and communism, a precedent established in 1891 by Pope Leo XIII's landmark encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.[638] The Dogmatic Constitution of the Catholic Church, *Lumin Gentium* (1964), and the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium Et Spes* (1965),

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[633] Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1971), 97-100; Ignacio Ellacuria, *Freedom Made Flesh: The Mission of Christ and His Church* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1976), 32-35.
[634] Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, 28; Juan Luís Segundo, *The Liberation of Theology* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books 1976), 5-12.
[635] Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, 68.
[636] Ibid., 70.
[637] Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, 117.
[638] Deborah Levenson, *Trade Unionists against Terror: Guatelama City, 1954-1985* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 80-92.

rejected the secularism of Marxism but also renounced corporate greed, excess, and soaring inequality.[639] Church leadership further criticized the development policies supported by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and appeared to embrace core principles of leftist dependency theory.[640] This transformation held enormous implications for Latin America, where Church officials had long struggled to present a viable alternative to the Cuban Revolution and other leftwing insurgencies that swept across the region during the Cold War.[641] In 1968, bishops who attended the Latin American Episcopal Conference in Medellín (CELAM) embraced a "preferential option for the poor," pledging to raise the "consciousness of the poorest and neediest sectors of society."[642]

In Brazil, priest, nuns, missionaries, and lay pastoral agents organized ecclesial base communities (*comunidades ecclesias de base*, CEBs) in rural regions beset by violent conflicts between large landowners, developers, poor farmers, and indigenous communities. CEBs were small groups that met to read Scripture and explore its relevance in everyday life and contemporary struggles.[643] The Brazilian Conference of Catholic Bishops (CNBB) called for the formation of CEBs amid the progressive ferment of the Latin American Church during the 1960s and 1970s. CNBB had promoted the grassroots mobilization of peasants through the Base Educational Movement (MEB) since the 1950s.[644] MEB established radio stations and rural schools in small villages across the Brazilian Northeast and Amazon to promote *conscientização*

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[639] Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, 72-74; His Holiness Pope Paul VI, *Gaudium Et Spes: Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World* (1965), 90.
[640] See André Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (New York: Monthly Review Press 1967); Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).
[641] Mainwaring, *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil, 1916-1985*.
[642] Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, 15-19.
[643] Ibid., 108; Leonardo Boff, *Ecclesiogenesis: The Base Communities Reinvent the Church* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1986).
[644] Thomas Bruneau, *The Church in Brazil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), 50. For *conscientização*, see Paulo Freire, *Pedagogia Do Oprimido* (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 1968).

(consciousness raising), a pedagogical approach that encouraged people to interpret their daily struggles as symptoms of larger social ills.[645] In 1972, CNBB created the Indigenist Missionary Council (CIMI) to defend the lands and livelihoods of indigenous populations in Amazonia.[646] The formation of MEB, CIMI, and CEBs paved the way for the Liberationist sectors of the Brazilian Catholic Church to support rural communities in struggles over land and power during the 1970s.

The Comissão Pastoral da Terra (Pastoral Land Commission, CPT), an arm of the Brazilian Catholic Church committed to agrarian reform and the defense of landless workers, arrived to organize rural black communities in the Baixada Ocidental Maranhense in 1976.[647] Dom Pedro Casaldáliga, a Catalan-born Sacred Heart missionary and bishop of São Félix do Araguaia, Mato Grosso, co-founded the CPT after the First Pastoral Meeting of the Amazon, which expressed solidarity with the struggles of posseiros, landless workers, and indigenous communities.[648] The Pastoral Land Commission established its headquarters in Goiânia and founded regional chapters throughout Brazil to support the political mobilization of marginalized peasant communities against the forces of land colonization and agro-industry. In Maranhão, CPT agents taught literacy classes, offered legal counsel, and formed base communities in which participants learned to read and interpret the Gospels in light of their lived experience of struggle (*luta*). "We won't take it anymore," leaders of São José de Brito informed the governor of

[645] Bruneau, *The Church in Brazil*, 52.
[646] On CIMI, see Garfield, *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil: State Policy, Frontier Expansion, and the Xavante Indians, 1937-1988*, 178; French, "A Tale of Two Priests and Two Struggles: Liberation Theology from Dictatorship to Democracy in the Brazilian Northeast," 410.
[647] CPT-MA, "Carta Do Cpt-Ma Ao Sr. Governador Do Estado De Maranhão, Sr. Secretário Do Interior, Sr. Superintendente Da Polícia Federal Do Maranhão, Sr. Secretário De Segurança Do Estado Do Maranhão."
[648] Comissão Pastoral da Terra (CPT), *Pastoral Da Terra* (Goiânia: CPT, 1976), 5; Ivo Paletto and Antônio Canuto, *Nas Pegadas Do Povo Da Terra: 25 Anos Da Cpt* (Goiânia: Comissão Pastoral da Terra, 2002).

Maranhão and local officials in July 1978.[649] "We are learning to speak with courage and to write. We have only recently begun to learn about Brazilian law and we are discovering that the law doesn't only serve the interests of the rich and powerful. It also serves the interests of all Brazilians."[650]

Squatters learned about the 1964 Land Statute to navigate byzantine rules governing property rights in Brazil. Promulgated by the Brazilian military regime in November 1964, the Land Statute fomented land colonization and agribusiness by privatizing vacant public lands.[651] Article 1, Section 2 pledged to defend "private property rights" and "modernize the rural economy" to keep pace with the rapid industrialization of Brazilian cities.[652] Article 10, Section 1 defended the "absolute right of the state (*poder público*)" to conduct "research and experimentation" on terras devolutas for the "purposes of development, colonization, educational purposes, and technical assistance." Although the 1964 Land Statute favored the interests of agribusiness, Afro-Brazilian peasants and their Liberationist allies managed to exploit loopholes in the legislation to legitimate their *posses*. Article 25, Section 2 granted long-term squatters a "preferential right" (*direito de preferência na compra da terra*) to purchase their lands.[653] The Land Statute upheld the principle of *usucapião,* which granted ownership to any individual able to prove long-term peaceful land occupation.[654]

In a letter addressed to the governor of Maranhão in July 1978, residents of São José de Brito argued,

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[649] CPT-MA, "Carta Do Cpt-Ma Ao Sr. Governador Do Estado De Maranhão, Sr. Secretário Do Interior, Sr. Superintendente Da Polícia Federal Do Maranhão, Sr. Secretário De Segurança Do Estado Do Maranhão," 3.
[650] Ibid.
[651] República, "Lei 4.504 De 30 De Novembro De 1964."
[652] Ibid.
[653] Ibid.
[654] Fischer, *A Poverty of Rights: Citizenship and Inequality in Twentieth-Century Rio De Janeiro*, 222. Usucapião was sanctioned by Article 8 of the 1850 Land Act, the 1916 Brazilian Civil Code, and the 1934 Constitution.

> Everybody knows that public land cannot be given in adverse possession (usucapião). It is expressly forbidden by law. It is important to note that said beneficiary [the buffalo rancher, Antônio Pinto de Freitas] never had possession and never once set foot on our lands! We have gone in a single day from being owners of the land to serfs and slaves, like a century ago![655]

Members of the community had embellished a standard posseiro right with a race-based, historical claim to land unrecognized by Brazilian law at the time. In a post-emancipation society, historical allusions to slavery were not uncommon rhetorical strategies for labor and political activists.[656] In the case of São José de Brito and other rural black communities, however, quilombola ancestry would ultimately provide the historical continuity to demonstrate long-term territorial dominion. "We the people, who live and work along the Turiaçu River, are the descendants of fugitive slaves who established the second most famous quilombo in all of Brazil," the leadership of São José de Brito affirmed in their letter in 1978 to the Maranhão governor.[657] "We were born, raised, and grew old extracting from the land all that we need to survive."[658] Residents of São José de Brito pointed to the survival of ancestral traditions, cultural practices, and agricultural methods as historical evidence of prior dominion over disputed territories. They asserted:

> We are all farmers. All of us live from the land. We plant cassava, rice, corn, beans, potatoes, and yams…we have our bananas, coffee trees, orange trees, and sugarcane. Here we have our huts made from mud and covered by straw roofs. We have our festivals, dances, and rituals. Most of all, we have our history of suffering and enslavement. The elders among us tell tales, during the long, dark nights about the many sad and joyful events that shaped the history of our people.[659]

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[655] CPT-MA, "Carta Do Cpt-Ma Ao Sr. Governador Do Estado De Maranhão, Sr. Secretário Do Interior, Sr. Superintendente Da Polícia Federal Do Maranhão, Sr. Secretário De Segurança Do Estado Do Maranhão," 2.
[656] See Torre, "The Land Is Ours and We Are Free to Do All That We Want: Quilombos and Black Rural Protest in Amazonia, Brazil, 1917-1929."
[657] CPT-MA, "Carta Do Cpt-Ma Ao Sr. Governador Do Estado De Maranhão, Sr. Secretário Do Interior, Sr. Superintendente Da Polícia Federal Do Maranhão, Sr. Secretário De Segurança Do Estado Do Maranhão," 3.
[658] Ibid.
[659] Ibid., 2.

Through the CPT, posseiros in Maranhão gained access to what Trouillot has termed the "means of historical production."[660] Rural Afro-Brazilians transformed a social memory of resistance to slavery and planter exploitation into a historical document and moral appeal to pressure authorities to recognize their claims to ancestral lands. Their efforts preceded the introduction of Article 68 by a decade, calling into question the notion that rural descendants of slaves only began to recount a collective past and articulate shared Afro-descendant identities after ratification of the Quilombo Law in 1988.[661]

4. Anthropologists and "*terras de preto*"

Brazilian anthropologists have exerted considerable influence in crafting government policies recognizing the territorial claims and cultural practices of indigenous and Afro-descendant communities since the 1970s.[662] Inspired by the legal battles of Brazil's indigenous movement, activist anthropologists worked with Afro-Brazilian communities to advance their claims to land rights.[663] Integral to anthropologists' work was the re-conceptualization of ethnicity as demarcated by social boundaries rather than "traditional" markers.[664] Brazilian anthropologists, notably Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, were influenced by the work of Fredrik Barth, who defined ethnicity as a "social boundary" rather than a set of primordial traits.[665] This conceptual reassessment empowered indigenous communities previously categorized as

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[660] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, 23.
[661] French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 5. French argues, "there must be a particular law that has come into existence with the purpose of protecting or regulating rights of specific groups to maintain ethnoracial and cultural difference."
[662] See Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*, 38-46; French, "A Tale of Two Priests and Two Struggles: Liberation Theology from Dictatorship to Democracy in the Brazilian Northeast," 7-10. João Pacheco de Oliveira, *A Viagem Da Volta: Etnicidade, Política, E Reelaboração Cultural No Nordeste Indígena* (Rio de Janeiro: Contra-Capa, 1999).
[663] Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*, 38-48.
[664] See ibid.; French, "A Tale of Two Priests and Two Struggles: Liberation Theology from Dictatorship to Democracy in the Brazilian Northeast."; Farfán-Santos, *Black Bodies, Black Rights: The Politics of Quilombolismo in Brazil*, 68-74.
[665] Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Boston: Little Brown, 1969), 9-10. Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*, 38.

"sharecroppers" or *caboclos* due to the absence of "traditional" native lifestyles to assert their constitutional rights to land.[666] The Indian Statute of 1973 reflected this new-found understanding of ethnogenesis in defining "indigenous" as "every individual of pre-Columbian origin and ancestry who identifies himself and is identified as belonging to an ethnic group whose cultural characteristics distinguish him from the national society."[667] By framing indigeneity as the product of social differentiation, including that of self-identification, the Indian Statute expanded the possibilities for "non-traditional" indigenous groups to claim legal rights to land.[668] Anthropologists would apply the same historically grounded approach to the legalization of quilombola land claims.[669] Afro-descendants, in turn, recognized the potential for anthropological allies hailing from prestigious universities and urban centers to advance their cause.[670]

Anthropologist Alfredo Wagner Berno de Almeida arrived in Turiaçu to study the historical origins of rural black communities during the late 1970s. He introduced the term "*terras de preto*" (black lands) to describe the descendants of slaves in Maranhão who lived on a subsistence level and where cultural practices had strong ties with the ancestral past.[671] He affirmed in 1987 that:

> The so-called *terras de preto* comprise those areas that were either given, exchanged, occupied, or acquired by ex-slaves after the breakup of large properties in the monoculture sector. The descendants of those families have

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[666] French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 68; Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*, 92; Warren, *Racial Revolutions: Antiracism and Indian Resurgence in Brazil*, 215; Alfredo Wagner Berno de Almeida, *Terra De Quilombo, Terras Indígenas, "Babaçuais Livre," "Castanhais Do Povo," Faxinais E Fundo De Pasto: Terras Tradicionalmente Ocupadas* (Manaus: PGSCA-UFAM, 2008), 89; Garfield, *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil: State Policy, Frontier Expansion, and the Xavante Indians, 1937-1988*.
[667] French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 66-67.
[668] Ibid., 68; Almeida, *Terra De Quilombo, Terras Indígenas, "Babaçuais Livre," "Castanhais Do Povo," Faxinais E Fundo De Pasto: Terras Tradicionalmente Ocupadas*, 88-92.
[669] Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*, 38-48.
[670] French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 69.
[671] Almeida, *Terra De Quilombo, Terras Indígenas, "Babaçuais Livre," "Castanhais Do Povo," Faxinais E Fundo De Pasto: Terras Tradicionalmente Ocupadas*.

> remained on these lands for a number of generations without legal means of formalizing their collective dominion and have resisted pressures to claim these plots individually.[672]

Terras de preto was a precursor to the phrase "remanescentes de quilombos" or "quilombo descendants" that later appeared in the 1988 Constitution.[673] In 1979, two defense leagues arose to demand territorial rights for terras de preto: the Maranhão Society for the Defense of Human Rights (Sociedade Maranhense de Defesa dos Direitos Humanos, SMDDH) and the Center for Black Studies and Advocacy (Centro de Estudos e Defesa do Negro, CEDENPA) in the neighboring state of Pará.[674] Both organizations called national attention to the plight of Afro-descendant communities in the Brazilian Northeast and Northern Amazon.[675] Their members engaged in direct action to prevent takeovers of their lands.[676] Activists "invaded" ranches and blocked highways to protest fazendeiro violence and prevent the arrival of new herds.[677] Predictably, ranchers responded by raising militias to intimidate, arrest, and assassinate rural activists and pastoral agents who "plotted to transform northern Maranhão into a mini Cuba."[678]

In 1978, the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT) published its first annual report detailing assassinations, death threats, assaults, evictions, and arbitrary detentions of peasants, rural union leaders, and landless workers in the Brazilian countryside. The CPT documented 44 separate conflicts over land and resources in Maranhão. Clergy and pastoral agents were the frequent targets of fazendeiro terror.[679] On June 4, 1978, the police chief in Turiaçu dispatched ten armed

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[672] *Terras De Preto, Terras De Santo, E Terras De Índio: Posse Comum E Conflito*, 41.
[673] Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*, 89.
[674] Negro, *Terras De Preto No Maranhão: Quebrando O Mito Do Isolamento*, 35; Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*, 89.
[675] Lourenço Cardoso and Lilian Cristina Bernardo Gomes, "Movimento Social Negro E Movimento Quilombola: Para Uma Teoria Da Tradução," in *XI Congresso Luso Afro-Brasileiro de Ciências Sociais* (Salvador2011), 7.
[676] Comissão Pastoral da Terra (CPT), "Relatórios Sobre Os Conflitos De Terras Nos Povoados Negro Do Município De Turiaçu-Ma," (1979), 2.
[677] Ibid.
[678] Ibid.
[679] Luna, *A Terra Era Liberta: Um Estudo Da Luta Dos Posseiros Pela Terra No Vale Do Pindaré-Ma*, 42-43.

jagunços (hitmen) to arrest three CPT activists.[680] The men held the pastoral agents hostage to ensure the safe passage of cattle cars along the Belém-Brasília Highway.[681] Rancher José Alves brutally beat Italian missionary and CPT agent Antônio DiFoggia as he celebrated Sunday mass in São José de Brito on September 21, 1978.[682] In 1979, the number of violent conflicts over land in Maranhão swelled to 122, the majority of which took place in the embattled rural provinces of Turiaçu, Mearim, Mirinzal, and Pindaré.[683]

Violence in the countryside reached its appalling apex during the decade of the 1980s. The CPT reported 207 conflicts over land and resources in Maranhão affecting 67,184 families in 1980.[684] In 1982, the Catholic Church decried the assassinations of 21 posseiros in Maranhão, including the leader of the rural workers' union in Pindaré.[685] Rural activists compared the violence to the slave-catcher raids that had terrorized their ancestors a century before.[686] The crisis in the Brazilian countryside coincided with a flurry of popular protests that the military regime struggled to contain.

Pro-democracy activists, supported by political parties like the Workers' Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores, PT) and the recently formed Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro, PMDB), as well as anti-regime stalwarts like the Brazilian Conference of Catholic Bishops (CNBB) and the Order of Brazilian Jurists (OAB), spearheaded a campaign demanding direct presidential elections in 1983-1984. Although the "*campanha para direitos*" failed, the millions of Brazilians who took to the streets to demand

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[680] (CPT), "Relatórios Sobre Os Conflitos De Terras Nos Povoados Negro Do Município De Turiaçu-Ma."
[681] Ibid.
[682] Ibid.
[683] Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil (CNBB), "Igreja E Problemas Da Terra: Documentação Aprovado Pelo 18 Assembléia Da Cnbb, Itaici, 14 De Fevereiro De 1980," (São Paulo1980), 11.
[684] Ibid.
[685] Luna, *A Terra Era Liberta: Um Estudo Da Luta Dos Posseiros Pela Terra No Vale Do Pindaré-Ma*, 44.
[686] Ibid.

democracy splintered the pro-military Democratic Social Party (Partido de Democracia Social, PSD) that led to the presidential election by indirect voting of the electoral college of opposition leader Tancredo Neves.[687] Illness felled Neves on the eve of his inauguration and his conservative running mate, José Sarney of Maranhão, became president in March 1985.

The groundswell of popular protest forced Sarney, a scion of the agrarian ruling class, to make concessions. In 1985, Sarney called for a constituent assembly to convene within two years to write a new charter for democratic rule and unveiled a National Plan for Agrarian Reform (PNRA) proposing the redistribution of land for 1.4 million rural families.[688] Rural Afro-Brazilians mobilized for land rights within this climate of democratic restoration and land reform. They would secure the backing to two important allies: the Liberationist Catholic Church and the Unified Black Movement (MNU).

5. The Catholic Church and Support for Quilombo Rights

On November 20, 1981, Bishops Helder Câmara, Pedro Casaldáliga, and José Maria Pirés joined Afro-Brazilian pop singer Milton Nascimento and a crowd of thousands in Recife to celebrate mass in the very square where Portuguese soldiers had fastened the severed head of Zumbi dos Palmares to a spike nearly three centuries before.[689] The exuberant congregation of Liberationists and Afro-Brazilian activists dubbed the liturgy the "Mass of the Quilombos."[690] Activist Fernando Brant remembered, "It was a cry of defiance, sadness, and conscience against

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[687] Adriano Pilatti, *A Constituinte De 1987-1988: Progressistas, Conservadores, Ordem Econômica, E Regras Do Jogo* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora PUC Rio, 2008), 19-21.
[688] José Gomes da Silva, *Buraco Negro: A Reforma Agrária Na Constituinte De 1987-1988* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1989), 25.The PNRA proposed to expropriate *terras devolutas* and "non-productive" private properties exceeding 500 hectares and to re-distribute them to *posseiros* and smallholders as individual plots.
[689] Pâmella Santos dos Passos, "A Pastoral Afro-Brasileira E a Campanha Da Fraternidade De 1988: Uma Análise Discursiva Das Questões Racias No Interior Da Igreja Católica " *Educere et Educare: Revista da Educação* 10, no. 20 (2015): 606.
[690] Milton Nascimento, Pedro Casaldáliga, and Pedro Tierra, "Missa Dos Quilombos," in *Missa dos Quilombos* (Universal Portugal, 1981).

the violence suffered by black people in our country and throughout our history and today. And it was also a song of hope and a convocation of a new struggle for change."[691]

Proclaiming the prophetic message of the Gospels to the steady beat of the *pandeiro* and the jangled plucking of the *berimbau*, the celebrants eulogized the martyred maroon leader whose "rebirth" in the popular imaginary recalled the resurrection of Jesus Christ and augured the Christian savior's impending return.[692] Milton Nascimento led the crowd through the responsorial hymn. "In the name of our people who forged Palmares, and who will raise a new Palmares once again! Palmares! Palmares! Palmares of our people!"[693] Dom Helder Câmara, the founder of the CNBB and prominent Liberationist, concluded the mass with a prayer. "There will be no more slaves today and no more masters tomorrow," he cried. "*Basta de escravos* (no more slaves)!" His voice trembled. "We pray for a world without masters and without slaves. We celebrate a world of brothers and sisters!"[694]

The celebration of the Missa do Quilombo signaled a highly public shift in the racial politics of the Brazilian Catholic Church. In the years that followed, Liberationists including Câmara, Casaldáliga, and Fr. Davi Santos repudiated the myth of racial democracy with the same fervor they decried dictatorship, "savage" capitalism, landlessness, and indigenous genocide.[695] The rise of the Association of Black Religious and Seminarians, combined with many Afro-descendants' tepid embrace of the Liberationist CEBs in urban areas, compelled Church leadership to break its centuries-long silence on issues of racism and racial inequality in

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[691] Ibid.
[692] The *pandeiro* is an instrument similar to a tambourine used especially in samba. The *berimbau* is a musical instrument of Afro-Brazilian origin, consisting of a bow strung with a wire and an open gourd that is played with a stick while simultaneously shaking a small seed-filled rattle, the *caxixi*. See Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*, 269.
[693] Nascimento, Casaldáliga, and Tierra, "Missa Dos Quilombos."
[694] Ibid.
[695] John Burdick, *Looking for God in Brazil: The Progressive Catholic Church in Urban Brazil's Religious Arena* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 156.

Brazil.[696] Moreover, the Catholic Church faced competition from Afro-Brazilian religious like Candomblé and Umbanda. In 1978, CNBB established the Pastoral Afro-Brasileira to rekindle dwindling black lay participation and to persuade nonwhite Brazilians to identify as *negros*.[697] A decade later, Brazilian bishops declared "racial justice" the theme of its annual Lenten "Brotherhood Campaign" (Campanha da Fraternidade).[698]

Anthropologist John Burdick has argued that the Church's campaign to promote a change in racial attitudes was mixed.[699] These efforts were locked into a preexisting *comunidade* hierarchy that was dominated by lighter-skinned Brazilians and excluded the very population the Church had sought to attract.[700] CNBB's efforts to incorporate elements of "African religion and culture" in the Catholic liturgy were met with skepticism by many Afro-Brazilians who feared persecution by evangelical Christians, and Catholics who had historically derided Afro-descendant religions as *macumba* (sorcery).[701] The Missa-Afro-Brasileira also managed to alienate members of the MNU who deemed the Church's celebration of Africanisms to be patronizing and opportunistic. Brazilian bishops pressed forward with their anti-racism campaign nonetheless, apologizing for the Catholic Church's involvement in the slave trade and expressing support for redistributive policies to redress systemic racial inequalities on the upcoming centenary of abolition in 1988.[702]

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[696] Ibid.
[697] Passos, "A Pastoral Afro-Brasileira E a Campanha Da Fraternidade De 1988: Uma Análise Discursiva Das Questões Racias No Interior Da Igreja Católica ".
[698] Ibid., 603.
[699] Burdick, *Looking for God in Brazil: The Progressive Catholic Church in Urban Brazil's Religious Arena*, 156-57.
[700] Ibid., 158.
[701] Ibid., 34.
[702] Passos, "A Pastoral Afro-Brasileira E a Campanha Da Fraternidade De 1988: Uma Análise Discursiva Das Questões Racias No Interior Da Igreja Católica " 608.

The CNBB's advocacy for Afro-descendant land rights preceded the 1987-1988 Constituent Assembly by at least several years. During the mid-1980s, the Catholic Church defended the National Plan for Agrarian Reform against attacks by the Rural Democratic Union (UDR), a rightwing organization spearheaded by large landowners and ranchers that mobilized against land redistribution through a combination of political lobbying and paramilitary violence.[703] In 1986, CNBB declared "agrarian reform" the theme of the 1986 Brotherhood Campaign. The Lenten pastoral letter, "Land of God, Land of Brothers" (*Terra de Deus, Terra de Irmãos*), urged Catholics "to summon a just, loving, and fraternal response to the immense clamor for land in their country."[704]

The Brotherhood Campaign signaled an evolution in the Catholic Church's approach to redressing the crisis of landlessness and rural inequality in Brazil. The confederation of bishops had long considered the *questão da terra* a class issue, calling for the re-distribution of vacant public lands and non-productive private properties to lift a downtrodden, race-less peasantry from misery.[705] Liberationists had supported the political mobilization of indigenous communities in the Amazon since the early 1970s. However, by the mid-1980s, Catholic bishops had begun to emphasize the ethnic and racialized dimensions of rural struggle in Brazil.[706] The CNBB's Lenten pastoral letter of 1986 lobbied for an agrarian reform bill that honored the "tribal and communitarian nature of land tenure" displayed by "indigenous groups and several rural communities in Legal Amazon."[707] Thus, the Brazilian Catholic Church embraced Chico Mendes's Xapuri Rubber Tappers Union in the state of Acre and the terras de preto movement in

[703] Hecht and Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers, and Defenders in the Amazon*, 196-97.
[704] Conferência Nacional de Bispos Brasileiros (CNBB), "Campanha Da Fraternidade 1986: Terra De Deus, Terra De Irmãos," (Rio de Janeiro CNBB, 1986), 2-3.
[705] Burdick, *Legacies of Liberation: The Progressive Catholic Church in Brazil*.
[706] (CNBB), "Campanha Da Fraternidade 1986: Terra De Deus, Terra De Irmãos," 24-25.
[707] Ibid.

Maranhão and Pará, rural social movements that framed their members' historical struggles for land in a language of "socio-environmentalism" and communal "reparations."

Catholic leadership criticized the National Plan for Agrarian Reform because it promoted the concept of individual private property that was anathema to many "traditional populations" in the Brazilian countryside that controlled their lands collectively.[708] The 1986 Lenten pastoral letter judged the plan "incompatible" with indigenous and Afro-Brazilian ontologies and ancestral practices of land tenure. "A basic element that is present in the religious expressions of the *povo* (the people) is the belief that the land is sacred and that it belongs to nobody else but God," the 1986 pastoral letter read: "In the old histories of almost every indigenous and black community in Brazil, there are stories telling us that earth was created by God and that he gave land to his people. This belief challenges the materialism that leads many in our society to worship isolated, absolute, private property."[709] Bishops further rhapsodized on the existence of a "spiritual relationship" between Afro-descendant farmers and the land:

> In black culture, the earth provides everything: nourishment, medicine, housing, clothing. In several African religions, there exists the cult of the earth gods, who pay respect to the *orixás* who created the earth through certain rituals, such as, for instance, the removing of shoes and lying prostrate on the ground. Almost all religious festivals and folk traditions are tied to the cycles of the harvest and rural work. The people express their faith through actions, prayers, songs, and pilgrimages. The *romarias* (pilgrimages) and *mutirões* (collective labor) are intimately linked to the liturgical practices of our own Catholic Church.[710]

The Church's portrayal of Afro-Brazilian culture, reducing the diversity and complexity of "African religions" to an essentialism, recalled the controversial "Afro-Brazilian Liturgy." Although bishops depicted black communities as inherently traditional, spiritual, and nature-

[708] Cunha and Almeida, "Indigenous People, Traditional People, and Conservation in the Amazon."
[709] (CNBB), "Campanha Da Fraternidade 1986: Terra De Deus, Terra De Irmãos," 35-37.
[710] Ibid., 36-37.

bound, the Church's racialization of agrarian reform would lend critical ideological reasoning and institutional support for quilombo rights at the 1987-1988 Constituent Assembly.

6. The Movimento Negro and Quilombo Rights

As noted in Chapter Three, urban Afro-Brazilians intellectuals and activists had long cherished the historical importance and symbolism of maroon communities. As the black movement grew in response to military dictatorship, the cause of *quilombismo* only gained in political prominence. Afro-Brazilian university students founded the Movimento Negro Unificado Contra Discriminação Racial (MNUCDR) after the torture and murder of Robson Luíz, a black taxi driver, at the hands of São Paulo police in April 1978.[711] The Movimento Negro Unificado (MNU), as the organization came to be known, was based in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. It developed into an umbrella organization encompassing a wide range of black anti-racist organizations throughout Brazil.[712] MNU included among its members leftists, union leaders, feminists, university students, favela community activists, religious leaders, capoeira practitioners, and samba schools.[713] These entities supported myriad causes but advanced several core demands: ratification of anti-racial discrimination legislation, criminal prosecution for police brutality, creation of a national monument to Zumbi dos Palmares and commemoration of his death on November 20 as "Black Consciousness Day," and government-mandated teaching of Afro-Brazilian history and culture in public schools.[714] It is worth noting that MNU's platform did not initially include territorial demands for descendants of quilombos, exposing an epistemological divide between rural and urban-based black activists.

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[711] On the formation of MNU, see Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio De Janeiro and São Paulo*.
[712] Convenção Nacional do Negro pela Constituinte, "Manifesto," news release, August 26-27, 1986.
[713] Ibid.
[714] Ibid.

The MNU denounced racism, exposed "racial democracy" as a myth, and attempted to convince Brazilians of color to embrace *negro* rather than mixed-race identities to reveal Brazil as a black nation.[715] Afro-Brazilian intellectuals, including Abdias do Nascimento, Joel Rufino dos Santos, and Lélia Gonzales deplored that national ideologies celebrating mixture had muted racial solidarity among nonwhites and thwarted their capacity to mobilize on the basis of *negritude* (blackness).[716] Militants searched for historical examples of black resistance to slavery and white supremacy to refute the purported absence of racism in Brazil and to encourage *irmãos de cor* (brothers and sisters of color) to celebrate their African roots. As we explored in Chapter 3, maroon communities and the legendary Quilombo dos Palmares emerged as powerful symbols of black protest and racial pride. For this reason, the Movimento Negro called upon Brazilians of color to emulate the militancy of Zumbi, the true hero of black liberation, on the centenary of abolition.[717]

The return to democracy in 1985 furnished activists with a language of "rights" and "reparations" to lobby for anti-discrimination legislation and redistributive justice for Afro-descendants. Indeed, debates about the nature of race relations and the social conditions of Afro-Brazilians coincided with a wave of multicultural citizenship reforms and reparations claims throughout Latin America in which ethnic groups in democratizing nations demanded respect for the rights of ethnic groups rather than the suppression of their differences.[718]

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[715] Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, 246.
[716] Sheriff, *Dreaming Equality: Color, Race, and Racism in Urban Brazil*; Twine, *Racism in a Racial Democracy: The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil*; Sansone, *Blackness without Ethnicity: Constructing Race in Brazil*
[717] Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*, 68.
[718] Engel, *The Elusive Promise of Indigenous Development: Rights, Culture, Strategy*; Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*; ibid.; French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*; Hooker, "Indigenous Inclusion/Black Exclusion: Race, Ethnicity, and Multicultural Citizenship in Latin America."; Charles Hale, "Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights, and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala," ibid.34 (2002).

In 1986, the Movimento Negro Unificado called black activists and intellectuals to Brasília to draft a "black movement platform" in advance of the upcoming National Constituent Assembly.[719] The Convenção Nacional do Negro pela Constituinte (The Black National Convention for the Constituent Assembly) convened at the University of Brasília (UnB) for two days in August 1986, assembling 185 representatives from 65 different organizations representing 16 different states.[720] "This will be the first time that the *raça negra* organizes to make demands in a national constituent assembly," MNU activist José Dias Pereira told the *Jornal do Brasil* in August 1986.[721]

The 1986 convention featured the historic participation of rural Afro-Brazilians in an anti-racist forum that had long been dominated by urban and college-educated black activists. Representatives from the Center for Black Studies and Advocacy in Pará (CEDENPA) and the Black Cultural Center of Maranhão (CCN/MA), closely allied with the Maranhão Society for the Defense of Human Rights (SMDDH), attended the convention to lobby for the neologistic terras de preto. To be sure, the relationship between rural and urban black activists was marked by tension. The Movimento Negro, based largely in cities—Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Salvador, and Brasília—paid relatively little attention to the landless crisis that disproportionately impacted the livelihoods of nonwhite populations.[722] According to the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (IGBE), thirty million Brazilians live in rural areas, over half are poor, and the

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[719] Constituinte, "Manifesto."
[720] Cardoso and Gomes, "Movimento Social Negro E Movimento Quilombola: Para Uma Teoria Da Tradução," 7; Gay and Quintans, "Movimento Negro E Luta Pelos Direitos: A Participação Na Anc E as Conquistas Na Constituição Federal Brasileira," 8; Natália Neris da Silva Santos, "Vozes Negras No Congresso Nacional: O Movimento Negro E a Assembleia Nacional Constituinte De 1987-1988," in *39 Encontro Anual da ANPOCS* (2015), 12.
[721] "Negros Discutem Reivindicações À Constituinte," *Jornal do Brasil*, August 18, 1986.
[722] Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), "Censo 2010," (2010). See also, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), "Property Rights and Resource Governance: Brazil," (Washington, D.C.: USAID, 2011), 1-4.

racial composition is predominately nonwhite.[723] MNU envisioned itself as a black nationalist vanguard and long resented the fact that the majority of nonwhites in Brazil identified as "*pardos, mulatos*, and *morenos*" rather than as *afrodescendentes*. Militants viewed as imperative the elevation of the racial consciousness of poor Brazilians of color "living in a state of denial about their heritage and racial identity."[724] Many were surprised to learn that Afro-Brazilian peasants in Maranhão and Pará had invoked black identities and historical memory of resistance to slavery and white domination to demand territorial rights.

The *terras de preto* movement broadened the political agenda of the movimento negro.[725] Just weeks before the convention, CEDENPA, CCN/MA, and SMDDH organized the First Meeting of Black Communities in the state capital of Maranhão, São Luís.[726] CPT clerics, attorneys, anthropologists, and rural black activists expressed solidarity with Afro-descendant fishing communities displaced by the construction of the Alcântara Rocket Launching Center on Maranhão's northern Atlantic coast.[727] The meeting led to the inauguration of *Projeto Vida de Negro* (Black Life Project), an anthropological survey of rural black communities descended from slaves in Maranhão documenting their histories and practices of land tenure.[728] The study served as the historical grounds for a lawsuit filed on behalf of *terras de preto* against the state government of Maranhão for communal land rights during the mid-1990s.[729] These regional organizations arrived in Brasília in August 1986 to persuade the Black Movement to back a constitutional amendment protecting the territorial rights of *terras de preto*.

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[723] "Property Rights and Resource Governance: Brazil."
[724] See Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*; Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio De Janeiro and São Paulo*.
[725] Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*, 90.
[726] Negro, *Terras De Preto No Maranhão: Quebrando O Mito Do Isolamento*, 22.
[727] Ibid., 35.
[728] Ibid.
[729] Ibid.

The effort proved successful. Title IX of the *convenção* manifesto included the following clause: "Land titles will be guaranteed for Black Communities descended from quilombos, whether in urban or rural areas."[730] How "*terras de preto*" morphed into "*remanescentes de quilombos*" remains unclear. One possibility is that rural black activists from Maranhão and Pará appealed to the MNU's consecration of quilombos as icons of black pride and militancy. Further, by invoking the term "quilombo," Afro-Brazilian peasants provided proof of long-term settlement that would guarantee land titles to squatters in accordance with the 1964 Land Statute.

7. The National Constituent Assembly and Article 68

The National Constituent Assembly convened in Brasília on February 1, 1987, and deliberated for the next 583 days.[731] Ten thousand people entered the halls of the national legislature each day and nine million Brazilians participated through public hearings (*audiências públicas*), writing petitions, and organizing demonstrations.[732] President Sarney discarded the preliminary draft of the constitution proposed by the Afonso Arinos Commission on the eve of the assembly's inauguration. Thus, unlike prior conventions in 1891, 1934, and 1946, the 1987-1988 constituent assembly proceeded without preconditions (*roteiro prévio*).[733] The decision added critical weight to the outcome of sub-commission hearings and created unprecedented opportunities for popular input.[734] Although only 11 of the 599 constituent assembly members

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[730] Constituinte, "Manifesto," 6. *"Serão garantido o título de propriedade da terra às Comunidades Negras remanescentes de quilombos, quer no meio urbano ou rural.*"
[731] Pilatti, *A Constituinte De 1987-1988: Progressistas, Conservadores, Ordem Econômica, E Regras Do Jogo*, 1-3; Santos, "Vozes Negras No Congresso Nacional: O Movimento Negro E a Assembleia Nacional Constituinte De 1987-1988," 3.
[732] "Vozes Negras No Congresso Nacional: O Movimento Negro E a Assembleia Nacional Constituinte De 1987-1988," 3.
[733] Silva, *Buraco Negro: A Reforma Agrária Na Constituinte De 1987-1988*, 43.
[734] Sérgio Praça and Lincoln Noronha, "Políticas Públicas E a Decentralização Legislativa Da Assembleia Constituinte Brasileira 1987-1988," *RBCS* 27, no. 78 (2012): 133.

(*constituintes*) identified as Afro-Brazilians, the Movimento Negro testified at audiências públicas and introduced popular amendments for a vote in the sub-committees.[735]

The subject of Afro-Brazilian rights was debated by the Sub-commission on Blacks, Indigenous Populations, People with Disabilities, and Minorities (Subcomissão dos Negros, Populações Indígenas, Portadores Deficientes e Minorías), one of 24 thematic sub-commissions created by the Internal Rules Committee of the assembly.[736] Ivo Lech (PMDB-RS) served as president while Benedita da Silva (PT-RJ), a favela rights activist and the only black woman elected to the Constituent Assembly, played a leading role in establishing the sub-commission agenda.[737] After the ratification of the Constitution, she became a senator and then governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro, a post she held until 2003, when she was named a minister of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's administration.[738] The sub-commission devoted two hearings to the *questão negra* in Brazil that lasted twelve hours and featured the testimonies of 21 MNU representatives.[739] Participants seized the occasion to decry the unfulfilled promise of abolition.

Indeed, the centennial celebrations of emancipation in Brazil in 1988 gave black activists and intellectuals the platform to broadcast their denunciation of racial democracy.[740] "Next year will mark the centenary of abolition and I ask myself, 'what sort of abolition are we commemorating, exactly?'" asked Helena Theodoro, a black feminist researcher from Rio de

[735] Gay and Quintans, "Movimento Negro E Luta Pelos Direitos: A Participação Na Anc E as Conquistas Na Constituição Federal Brasileira," 12.
[736] Ibid.
[737] Ibid.
[738] French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 94.
[739] Gay and Quintans, "Movimento Negro E Luta Pelos Direitos: A Participação Na Anc E as Conquistas Na Constituição Federal Brasileira," 12.
[740] Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*, 43; Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, 297.

Janeiro, on April 27, 1987.[741] "Abolition did not give a place for black people to go. It didn't give black people rights. It didn't give them any sort of government assistance. Instead, abolition left the *negro* frozen in space."[742] MNU militants joined Theodoro to demand reparations for slavery.[743]

The Sub-commission on Blacks, Indigenous Populations, People with Disabilities, and Minorities debated a series of compensatory policies for promoting "something more than formal equality" for Afro-Brazilians in the new constitution.[744] Helena Theodoro demanded that one percent of the federal budget be earmarked for the promotion of Afro-Brazilian culture.[745] Ricardo Dias of the Council for the Black Community of São Paulo lobbied for quotas for Afro-Brazilians in public sector jobs.[746] Lélia Gonzáles of the Research Institute for Black Culture (IPCN) in Rio de Janeiro introduced an amendment protecting the constitutionality of compensatory policies for "historically disenfranchised groups."[747]

Although the MNU had endorsed the maroon-descendant communities' rights to land in its 1986 Convenção Nacional do Negro no Brasil, the Constituent Assembly never addressed the subject of land rights for remanescentes de quilombos. Nor did the sub-commission invite testimony from a single rural Afro-Brazilian. The exclusion of *terras de preto* activists from the Constituent Assembly hearings exposed the divisions between urban, university-educated black activists from rural activists from impoverished areas of the Amazon and the Northeast.[748] When

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[741] Subcomissão dos Negros, Populações Indígenas, Pessoas Deficientes e Minorias, *Diário Da Assembleia Nacional Constituinte (Danc)*, 7, May 20, 1987, 130.
[742] Ibid.
[743] Santos, "Vozes Negras No Congresso Nacional: O Movimento Negro E a Assembleia Nacional Constituinte De 1987-1988," 11.
[744] Ibid.
[745] *Diário Da Assembleia Nacional Constituinte (Danc)*, 128.
[746] Ibid.
[747] Ibid., 130.
[748] Cardoso and Gomes, "Movimento Social Negro E Movimento Quilombola: Para Uma Teoria Da Tradução," 11-12.

participants in the sub-commission debates did invoke maroons, they did so in purely by-gone, symbolic, and metaphorical terms. For instance, João Jorge, an MNU activist from Salvador, called upon his colleagues to emulate the historical quilombos. He proclaimed, "Here we are few, despite the fact that in this country, black people are the majority. We will continue to fight so that our new constitution bears our face. We will do we what we have always done since we first arrived in Bahia in 1549: we will fight like the quilombos."[749] By glossing marronage as historical inspiration rather than legal justification, the Movimento Negro sidelined the rural communities with family histories and legal claims as descendants of slaves.

Each of the twenty-four assembly sub-commissions introduced amendments for inclusion in the federal constitution. Arcane procedural rules ensured that many amendments were defeated in committee. Following a preliminary vote in the sub-commission, an amendment advanced to the Systematization Committee (Comissão da Sistematização), an oversight committee that determined whether or not to recommend the proposal for two rounds of votes in the Plenary. The Redaction Committee (Comissão da Redação) then attached revisions to the amendment before reaching its final "promulgation stage."[750] The majority of compensatory policies endorsed by the Sub-commission on Blacks, Indigenous Populations, People with Disabilities, and Minorities, including racial quotas in civil service jobs and universities, either never advanced past the Systematization Committee or were defeated in the Redaction Committee.[751] Still, MNU scored several important victories. The plenary ratified a non-discrimination clause, Article 3 ("Fundamental Principles") and a complementary clause Article

[749] Subcomissão dos Negros, Populações Indígenas, Portadores Deficientes e Minorias, *Diária Da Assembleia Nacional Constituinte (Danc)*, 10, May 21, 1987, 140.
[750] Santos, "Vozes Negras No Congresso Nacional: O Movimento Negro E a Assembleia Nacional Constituinte De 1987-1988," 6-7.
[751] Ibid., 12-13.

5 ("Rights and Fundamental Guarantees") that made racism a crime and imposed prison sentences.[752]

Although the bulk of redistributive proposals benefiting Afro-Brazilians were rejected by the plenary, assembly members voted to include a single compensatory amendment in the "transitory section" of the 1988 Federative Constitution of the Republic of Brazil: Article 68, the so-called "Quilombo Law."[753] The clause was a single sentence: "Survivors of quilombo communities occupying their lands are recognized as definitive owners, and the State shall issue them titles to the land."[754]

The unlikely ratification of Article 68 can in part be explained by the approval of Articles 215 and 216. The former called upon the Brazilian government "to promote and protect" the cultural manifestations of minority groups. The latter recognized "remanescentes de quilombos" as "national cultural patrimony."[755] According to Jan French, the enactment of Articles 215 and 216 reflected an ideological statement about the nature of the quilombo question, "seen by assembly members and the *movimento negro* as largely ethnic and cultural, not as a question

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[752] Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988, "Dos Princípios Fundamentais," Art. 3, "*Constituem objetivos fundamentais da República Federativa do Brasil: promover o bem de todos, sem preconceitos de origem, raça, sexo, cor, idade, e quaisquer outra formas de discriminação.*"; "Dos Direitos de Garantias Fundamentais," Art. 5, "*Todos são iguais perante a lei, sem distinção de qualquer natureza, garantindo-se aos brasileiros e aos estrangeiros residentes no País, a inviolabilidade do direito à vida, à liberdade, à igualdade, à segurança, e à propriedade, nos termos seguintes: XLII- a prática do racism constitui crime inafiançável e imprescritível, sujeito à pena de reclusão , nos termos da lei.*"

[753] The "transitory" section included constitutional provisions, such as the Quilombo Law, that were intended to be temporary in nature. Jan French argues that the law "was placed in the transitory section at the end of the Constitution because it was assumed that there were very few quilombos and that all would be identified and granted land within just a few years." French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 77.

[754] *Artigo 68*. "*Aos remanescentes de quilombos que estejam ocupando suas terras é reconhecida a propriedade definitiva, devendo o Estado lhes emitir os títulos respectivos.*"

[755] *Artigo 215*, (October 5, 1988). "*O Estado garantirá a todos o pleno exercício dos direitos culturais e acesso à fonts da cultura nacional, e apoirá e incentivará a valorização e difusão das manifestações culturais*"; "*O Estado protegerá as manifestações das culturas populares, indígenas e afro-brasileiras*." *Artigo 216*, (October 5, 1988). "*Constituem patrimônio cultural brasileiro os bens de natureza material e immaterial, tomados individualmente ou em conjunto, portadores de referência à identidade, à ação, à memória dos diferentes grupos formadores da sociedade brasielira, nos quais se incluem: ficam tombados todos os documentos e os sítios detentores de reminiscências históricas dos antigos quilombos.*"

about land reform or redistributive justice."[756] Consensus could develop around the idea that remanescentes de quilombos represented critical linkages to Brazil's "African past" and thus merited special protection, in part because such attribution of Brazilian "exceptionalism" appealed to nationalists across the political spectrum.

The Quilombo Law soon encountered fierce resistance from conservatives. Following the unveiling of the National Plan for Agrarian Reform, the ultra-right Rural Democratic Union (UDR) waged a campaign to block land redistribution and oppose territorial rights for indigenous and traditional peoples.[757] Denouncing Article 68 as a "Trojan Horse" for land reform, conservatives raised a number of objections related to jurisdiction, procedure, and the separation of powers. Opposition to quilombo rights was fiercest among representatives from regions beset by violent conflicts over land and resources, notably the Amazon, Center West, and the Brazilian Northeast. Before Article 68's passage, Acival Gomes (PMDB-SE), a member of the 1987-1988 Constituent Assembly, sought to oppose the quilombo provision on the grounds that it failed to outline procedures for identifying, demarcating, and titling quilombola lands.[758] José Moura (PFL-PE) attempted to sink the quilombo proposal in the Redactions Commission, alleging that only congress held the authority to expropriate and redistribute public lands.[759] Aluízio Campos (PMDB-PB) tried unsuccessfully to attach modifications to narrow eligibility to only those "Indian and quilombo communities that had occupied their lands for hundreds of years."[760]

Other delegates lambasted Article 68 as a stake through the very heart of Brazilian nationhood: its racial harmony. Eliel Rodrigues, a representative of the Constituent Assembly

[756] *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 200.
[757] Silva, *Buraco Negro: A Reforma Agrária Na Constituinte De 1987-1988*, 139.
[758] Deputados, "O Processo Constituinte- Art. 68-Adct."
[759] Ibid.
[760] Ibid.

from Pará, renounced Article 68 as an act of "apartheid" that threatened to splinter Brazil into "Indian, black, and white" territories.

> This proposed amendment to the Constitution will lead this country down the path of discrimination, creating veritable ghettoes and promoting the practice of apartheid in Brazil. What remains essential is the integration of different ethnic groups that together make up the Brazilian people, a people who do not discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, class, nor do they infringe upon the rights of individuals. To divide the nation into Indian lands, black lands, and white lands would be to fragment the physical and political building blocks that define Brazilian nationality. This suppressive amendment seeks to guarantee the preservation of our civilization and social identity.[761]

In other words, the enactment of compensatory policies for Afro-Brazilians violated the core tenets of racial democracy. As noted, the allegation that quilombos presented an existential threat to Brazilian society dates back to the colonial period and featured prominently in Vargas-era conservative social thought, as well. Although Article 68 ultimately prevailed, the conservative campaign to suppress the provision belies the notion that assembly members "did not expect [Article 68] would have much effect."[762] On the contrary, the contentious ratification process in the 1987-1988 Constituent Assembly foreshadowed the legal battles and bureaucratic hurdles that stonewalled enforcement of Article 68 for nearly a decade.

8. A Dream Deferred

Seven years after the Constituent Assembly ratified Article 68, not a single quilombo community had obtained legal recognition and constitutional rights to land.[763] The Brazilian government's failure to enforce the Quilombo Law stemmed from several factors.[764] The UDR and its affiliated political party, the Democrats (DEM), threatened elected representatives with

[761] Ibid.
[762] French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 77.
[763] Elizabeth Farfán-Santos, "Remembering the Quilombo: Race, Ethnicity, and Politics of Recognition in Brazil" (Ph.D. Dissertation University of California-Berkeley, 2011), 40-41.
[764] Nolan, "Interview with Michael Mary Nolan."

recall elections to prevent enactment of Article 68.[765] Conservatives further challenged Article 68 on constitutional grounds, alleging the requirement that communities form "quilombola associations" to obtain collective land titles had violated freedom of assembly.[766] Party members collected signatures for a petition demanding a second constituent assembly to "revise" the 1988 Constitution, where supporters of agribusiness planned to revoke land rights for indigenous populations and quilombolas.[767]

Another cause for the delay stemmed from ambiguities clouding Article 68 itself. The Constituent Assembly failed to define "remanescentes de quilombos" or elaborate any criteria for identifying them.[768] Moreover, as anthropologist Elizabeth Farfán-Santos notes, Brazilians' expectations of "authentic" quilombo descendants were shaped by perceptions of Palmares, whose profile had featured in film and popular culture.[769] Lawmakers therefore assumed that very few maroon-descendant communities had survived, and those that did would retain African vestiges. In fact, numerous communities—Rio das Rãs (Bahia), Mocambo (Sergipe), Kalungás (Goiás), Frechal (Maranhão), Oriximiná (Pará), and Ivaporunduva (São Paulo)—demanded land rights as quilombos during the early 1990s.[770]

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[765] Ibid.
[766] Ibid. Decades later, in 2003, DEM disputed the constitutionality of President Luis Inácio Lula da Silva's Decree 4.887/2003, which outlined bureaucratic procedures for the recognition and titling of quilombola lands. On February 8, 2018, Brazil's Supreme Court (*Supremo Tribunal Federal,* STF) rejected DEM's motion—Ação Direita de Inconstitucionalidade (ADI) 3.239 by a vote of 10 to 1. Instituto Socioambiental, "Em Vitória Histórica De Quilombolas, Stf Declara Constitucional Decreto De Titulações," Instituto Socioambiental https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/em-vitoria-historica-de-quilombolas-stf-declara-constitucional-decreto-de-titulacoes?utm_medium=email&utm_source=transactional&utm_campaign=manchetes%40socioambiental.org.
[767] Comissão Pró-Índio de São Paulo, "Reunião: Os Direitos Dos Remanescentes De Quilombos," (São Paulo: Comissão Pró-Índio de São Paulo, 1993), 2-3.
[768] Elizabeth Farfán-Santos, "Quilombismo: Fighting and Dying for Rights," *Transcripts* 1, no. 1 (2011): 133.
[769] Ibid.
[770] Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*, 88.

Race-based mobilization for land rights had outstripped political expectations and administrative competence.[771] Jointly, these factors help to explain the absence of coherent institutional guidelines and structures for recognizing and titling quilombo lands. In August 1988, President José Sarney created the Palmares Cultural Foundation (Fundação Cultural Palmares, FCP), a branch of the Ministry of Culture tasked with preserving Afro-Brazilian cultural heritage. Among the foundation's responsibilities was the identification of potential communities based on anthropological certification and the proposal of land titles for presidential authorization.[772] However, the foundation lacked discretionary funds and technical expertise to demarcate and title quilombola lands, a task better suited for the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA). The failure to implement Article 68 renewed debates among supporters over the nature and purpose of the Quilombo Law.

In 1995, supporters seized upon the tri-centennial celebrations of Zumbi dos Palmares's execution to pressure lawmakers to enforce Article 68. Federal Deputy Alcides Modest and Senator Benedita da Silva, of the Workers' Party in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, respectively, authored two separate bills proposing procedure and enforcement guidelines for the Quilombo Law: Chamber of Deputies Bill 627/95 and Senate Bill 129/95. The former cited Articles 215 and 216 of the Constitution to propose new procedures for the recognition and titling of remanescentes de quilombos as "Brazilian cultural patrimony.[773] Da Silva's senate bill also called for the "identification and characterization of quilombola lands and farms (*sítios*) as "Brazilian cultural patrimony."[774] Legislators invited quilombola activists, anthropologists,

[771] Ibid., 108.
[772] French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 77.
[773] *Projeto Lei 627/1995*.
[774] *Projeto Lei 129/95*.

attorneys, pastoral agents, and MNU activists to testify at a special session of congress in September 1995. The event was called the Seminário dos Remanescentes de Quilombos.

Two rival groups, *primordialistas* (primordialists) and *resemantizadoras* (re-semanticians), in the words of José Arruti, advanced competing definitions of remanescentes de quilombos.[775] The primordialista camp included urban MNU activists who portrayed maroon communities as "little Africas"—repositories of authentic "African cultural traditions" that crystallized in opposition to slavery and white domination.[776] They were represented by Abdias do Nascimento, who had pressed for the creation of the Palmares National Park in the state of Alagoas in 1984 and recognition of November 20, the anniversary of Zumbi's death, as a federal holiday: Black Consciousness Day. Alcides Modesto and Benedita da Silva's bills appealed to the primordialist camp because they recognized quilombo lands as "Brazilian cultural patrimony." Congressional Bill 627/95 tasked the Palmares Cultural Foundation, the only Afro-Brazilian-led ministry in the federal government, with all responsibilities related to certifying and titling quilombos. For primordialistas, the contemporary significance of remanescentes de quilombos derived from their ongoing signifiers as authentic Afro-Brazilian identities rooted in resistance to white supremacy.

The congressional bill rankled the rival resemantizadora faction in Brasília. This group prioritized land over cultural transcendence and pressed for a broad interpretation of the term "remanescentes de quilombos" to secure territorial rights for as many rural communities as possible.[777] It included anthropologists, quilombola activists, and Liberationist pastoral agents whom Jan French argues were "less concerned about their *negritude* (blackness) or history of

[775] Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*, 79-93.
[776] Ibid., 93.
[777] Ibid., 100-01.

slavery, than with fulfilling the requirements of whichever law would give [Afro-Brazilians] respite and rights."[778] Seeking to rescue the quilombo from ossified folklore, resemantizadoras defined rural black communities in terms of ethnicity rather than race, hence the semantic appellation.[779] Like Barth, they understood ethnicity as the product of shifting boundaries, rather than as a set of primordial traits.[780] Ethnicity was dynamic, protean, and adaptable rather than primordial, fixed, or static.

In 1994, the Palmares Cultural Foundation convened a seminar, O Conceito do Quilombo (The Concept of Quilombo), that formulated a new definition of "remanescente de quilombo."[781] Glória Moura, an Afro-Brazilian activist and professor of education at the Universidade de Brasília (UnB), proposed the term "contemporary quilombo" in 1994 to describe rural black communities inhabited by the descendants of slaves that engaged in subsistence activities and retained ancestral traditions.[782] Culture remained an important element of the definition of remanescente de quilombos, but was no longer tied to the notion of African survivals.[783] As Moura argued, contemporary quilombo identity should not be defined as purely racial, but also as ethnic.[784] By the mid-1990s, Brazilian anthropologists opted to redefine remanescente in terms of ethnicity by focusing on modes of land tenure, cultural adaptation, and "quotidian practices of resistance."[785]

The resemantizadora camp at the Brasília seminar rejected Benedita da Silva and Alcides Modesto's proposals. Valdélio Santos Silva, an Afro-Bahian activist, chided lawmakers for

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[778] French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 97.
[779] Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*, 100-01; French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 97-98.
[780] Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, 9-10.
[781] Glória Moura, interview by Edward Shore, August 6, 2015, Brasília.
[782] Ibid.; French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 96.
[783] O'Dwyer, *Quilombos: Identidade Étnica E Territorialidade*, 16.
[784] French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 96.
[785] Ibid.

ignoring the concept of "contemporary quilombos" endorsed by the Palmares Cultural Foundation and the Brazilian Anthropological Association (ABA). He complained that Da Silva and Modesto had "used a biology textbook" to describe the nature of quilombola ethnicities that were socially constructed.[786] Likewise, Flávio Jorge, an Afro-Brazilian activist from São Paulo and member of the anti-racist organization Soweto criticized Modesto for predicating the territorial rights of rural black communities upon their ongoing contributions to Brazilian culture.[787] "What matters here are the land rights of remanescentes de quilombos, not the [interests of] Brazilian cultural patrimony," Jorge argued.[788] Soweto objected to Modesto's plan to entrust the Palmares Cultural Foundation with all responsibilities related to quilombo certification and titling. Resemantizadoras countered that Brazil's land reform agency, INCRA, would be better equipped to handle titling, while the Palmares Cultural Foundation should oversee certification of anthropological reports.[789]

Primordialistas and resemantizadoras also proposed competing blueprints for demarcating and titling quilombola territories. Alcides Modesto's plan distinguished between two kinds of quilombola lands: plots occupied by rural black communities and those containing natural resources.[790] He recommended awarding the community deeds to the former while retaining the latter under federal control.[791] He also invited third parties with claims to quilombola territories to participate in the administrative process of demarcating and titling lands and advanced the possibility of indemnification of private property owners, something that

[786] Câmara dos Deputados, "Seminário Dos Remanescentes De Quilombos " (Brasília Câmara dos Deputados, 1995), 4-5.
[787] Ibid., 5.
[788] Ibid.
[789] Ibid.
[790] *Projeto Lei 627/1995*.
[791] Ibid.

Article 68 had never mentioned.[792] Resemantizadoras feared that the inclusion of third parties would exacerbate tensions between communities and local landowners. The fragile coalition holding together quilombola activists, the MNU, and Afro-Brazilian lawmakers had unraveled. As Flávio Jorge told *Linha Direta*, the Workers' Party weekly magazine, "The black movement is not unified."[793] As the next chapter will explain, rural black communities—caught in the crossfire of grilagem and development—would take action through the courts to demand enforcement of Article 68.

9. Conclusion

Chapter Four has traced how the descendants of quilombos residing in the Turiaçu River Valley of Maranhão became allied with influential outsiders. Residents of communities such as São José de Brito, Jamary dos Pretos, and Capoeira de Gado claimed descent from quilombolas who staged attacks on fazendeiros during the nineteenth century. Allied to Liberationist sectors of the Brazilian Catholic Church, anthropologists, and urban black activists, these communities would press for compensatory legislation for the descendants of fugitive slaves at the 1987-1988 National Constituent Assembly, culminating with the ratification of Article 68 on October 5, 1988. Like their ancestors, whose struggle for freedom was explored in Chapter Two, these communities used geographic mastery and social networks to defend their lands and livelihoods. In the following chapter, I seek to narrate a bottom-up history of another quilombo, Ivaporunduva, the first rural black community to file a lawsuit against the Brazilian government for its failure to enforce Article 68.

[792] Nolan, "Interview with Michael Mary Nolan."
[793] "Grande Impasse," *Linha Direta*, June 19-25, 1995.

Chapter Five:

"We Will Never Surrender!": Quilombos, their Descendants, and the Struggle for Territorial Rights in São Paulo's Vale do Ribeira, 1800-2016

Aurico Dias is a farmer and activist from São Pedro, one of 88 quilombos that call the Atlantic Forest of São Paulo state and Paraná their home. Two hundred years ago, Dias's ancestors escaped the gold mines and rice plantations that dotted the landscape of the Vale do Ribeira (Ribeira Valley), joining scores of maroon communities of fugitive slaves throughout the Americas. During the 1990s, Dias and his neighbors pressed for land and federal benefits under Article 68, the constitutional amendment that granted legal recognition and territorial rights to remanescentes de quilombos on the centenary of abolition. While 165 communities in Brazil have received titles from the government, more than 6,000 quilombos, including São Pedro, still await full certification of their lands.[794] Like their ancestors, they face threats to their livelihoods, this time from the intrusion of cattle ranchers, mining companies, and forest rangers. "Brazil waited almost 500 years to recognize quilombos," Dias told me in a 2015 oral history.[795] "Now it feels like we will have to wait another 500 years for our government to enforce its own laws."

Chapter Five traces the historical evolution of rural black communities in the Vale do Ribeira that have mobilized for legal recognition and land titles as remanescentes de quilombos under Article 68. Drawing from oral histories, ecclesiastical documentation, and NGO archives, I contend that fugitive slaves and their descendants appealed to history, ecology, and the law to challenge their territorial dispossession decades prior to the enactment of the Quilombo Law. By tracing the longer-term arcs of historical continuity and transformation between rural black

[794] Comissão Pró-Índio de São Paulo, "Terras Quilombolas " (Comissão Pró-Índio de São Paulo 2018).
[795] Dias, "Interview with Aurico Dias."

communities under slavery and after abolition, Chapter Five bridges the divide between historiographies of slavery and the post-emancipation period in Brazil.

First, I revisit Flávio dos Santos Gomes's revisionist thesis about the nature of historical quilombos in Brazil.[796] Early historiography described quilombos as an attempt by fugitive slaves to recreate Africa on the other side of the Atlantic through the formation of autonomous and geographically isolated communities dedicated to the overthrow of the slave plantation system.[797] Their model was the 10,000-strong Quilombo dos Palmares (1600-95), whose armies of fugitive slaves, led by the warrior-king Zumbi, battled Portuguese troops in the arid hinterlands of the Brazilian Northeast. Revisionists argued that Palmares was the exception rather than the rule.[798] Most quilombos in Brazil, they claimed, were quite small. Although geographical location was critical for their survival, rebel slaves often inhabited areas that were not totally isolated from arable land and small villages.[799]

Gomes introduced the concept of the *campo negro* (black countryside) to refute the conventional wisdom that quilombos existed in isolation from the world of slavery.[800] His 1995 essay, "Quilombos of Rio de Janeiro in the Nineteenth Century," described how maroons forged social and commercial ties with planters, merchants, and plantation slaves in the Iguaçu lowlands near Guanabara Bay. Gomes claimed these symbiotic relationships formed the basis of a larger web of interests, "of which quilombolas knew how to take crucial advantage to ensure the

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[796] Gomes, "Quilombos of Rio De Janeiro in the Nineteenth Century," 232-38. *Mocambos E Quilombos: Uma História Do Campesinato Negro No Brasil*, 22.
[797] Carneiro, *O Quilombo Dos Palmares*; Price, *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*; Freitas, *República De Palmares: Pesquisa, E Comentários Em Documentos Históricos Do Século Xvii*; Moura, *Rebeliões Da Senzala: Quilombos, Insurreições, Guerrilhas*; Nascimento, *O Quilombismo: Documentos De Uma Militância Negra Pan-Africanista*.
[798] Reis and Gomes, *Freedom by a Thread: The History of Quilombos in Brazil*; Schwartz, *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels: Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery* ; Almeida, *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias*.
[799] Gomes, "Quilombos of Rio De Janeiro in the Nineteenth Century," 232.
[800] Ibid., 237.

maintenance of their autonomy."[801] As this chapter notes, many quilombos remained firmly embedded within the dominant socioeconomic institutions of colonial and nineteenth-century Brazil, much as their descendants, I have shown, maintained ties with Liberationist pastoral agents, researchers, and government agents during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. However, I argue that revisionists have underestimated the degree to which ancestral knowledge of forest ecosystems and mastery of complex landscapes contributed to the survival of maroon communities in remote regions of Brazil like the Vale do Ribeira. This chapter analyzes the cultural ecology of fugitive slaves and their descendants to demonstrate the material and symbolic foundations of freedom, matters that remain at the heart of contemporary conflicts over land, resources, and social justice in the region today.

Second, I revisit Richard Price's 1998 article, "Scrapping Maroon History: Brazil's Promise, Suriname's Shame," which questioned the historical links between slave-era maroons in Brazil and their post-1988 descendants.[802] Price argued that remanescentes de quilombos in Brazil differed from the Saramaka of Suriname—a maroon population he had long studied—in one major respect: few of the Afro-Brazilian communities that mobilized for land and legal recognition in accordance with Article 68 included the actual descendants of maroons.[803] He wrote,

> Despite the existence of hundreds of maroon communities in Brazil during the era of slavery, present-day Brazil is not home to the kind of maroon communities—with clear historical continuities to slave era rebel communities and with deep historical conscious and semi-independent political organization—that still flourish in other parts of the Americas (Jamaica, Suriname, French Guiana, and Colombia).[804]

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[801] Ibid., 237-38.
[802] Richard Price, "Scrapping Maroon History: Brazil's Promise, Suriname's Shame," *New West Indian Guide* 72, no. 3-4 (1998).
[803] Ibid., 238; *First-Time: The Historical Vision of an African American People*.
[804] "Scrapping Maroon History: Brazil's Promise, Suriname's Shame," 237-38.

Price listed three factors that accounted for this contrast. First, Brazil's ruling classes appeared "singularly successful" in destroying the country's hundreds (or more likely thousands) of fugitive slave settlements.[805] Second, the vast majority of quilombos blended into the surrounding population in the decades preceding abolition, absorbed by an emerging black peasantry that included free blacks and plantation slaves. And third, remanescentes de quilombos were no longer required to authenticate their descent from historical maroon communities to obtain legal recognition and territorial rights under Brazilian law.

Price is also correct in pointing to a historical mosaic of Afro-Brazilian experiences in the countryside. Several communities that are today recognized by the government as remanescentes de quilombos, including Pacoval in the lower Amazon rainforest, were settled by refugees fleeing quilombos that were destroyed by the Brazilian military near the end of the slave era.[806] Other remanescentes de quilombos traced their origins to gifts of land from ex-masters, purchases of land by former slaves, or land grants to slaves from religious orders (*terras de santo*).[807] Indeed, the legal definition of remanescente de quilombo has evolved since 1988. In a surprising twist, the Brazilian government no longer required that communities provide historical evidence attesting to their maroon ancestry.[808] Today, the government recognizes rural black communities that live on a subsistence level and whose identities derive from their ancestral ties to the land and to their resistance to oppression.

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[805] Ibid., 237.
[806] Eurípedes Funes, "'I Was Born in the Forest; I've Never Had an Owner": History and Memory of the Mocambo Communities in the Low Amazon Rainforest," in *Freedom by a Thread: The History of Quilombos in Brazil*, ed. João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes (New York: Diasporic Africa Press, 2016).
[807] Almeida, *Quilombos E as Novas Etnias*, 43.
[808] Arruti, *Mocambo: Antropologia E História Do Processo De Formação Quilombola*; French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*; O'Dwyer, *Quilombos: Identidade Étnica E Territorialidade*; Farfán-Santos, *Black Bodies, Black Rights: The Politics of Quilombolismo in Brazil*.

However, in the Atlantic Forest of São Paulo and Paraná, 88 rural black communities that descended from fugitive slaves and free blacks managed to endure into the present day. Their survival is in part the result of geographical isolation and mastery of forest ecosystems that allowed for the social reproduction of Afro-descendant communities with historical origins in slavery and marronage, as well as social networks of support. It also derives from the fact that since the nineteenth century, maroon descendants have demonstrated "clear historical continuities to slave-era rebel communities," my third area of interest here.[809] Contrary to Price's assertion that remanescentes de quilombos "lacked a deep historical consciousness," this chapter shows how the communities of the Ribeira Valley harbored historical memories and even legal claims predating emancipation to challenge territorial dispossession prior to the Quilombo Law. This study thus aims to link the histories of quilombo communities *before* 1888 to those made by their descendants *after* Article 68 in 1988. Where possible, it seeks to "see like a quilombo," rather than a state.[810]

1. Quilombos and the Black Peasantry of the Vale do Ribeira (1765-1888)

The Vale do Ribeira is located 200 kilometers southeast of São Paulo city and endures as the final frontier in Brazil's most heavily industrialized state. The Valley stretches across 2.8 million hectares between southeastern São Paulo state and eastern Paraná, bathed by the Ribeira de Iguape River.[811] The river originates in Paraná and extends 470 kilometers to the Atlantic Ocean at Barra do Ribeira, near the city of Iguape. The Vale do Ribeira comprises three geographical sub-regions. The Lower Ribeira, or Baixada Ribeira, is home to the municipalities

[809] Price, "Scrapping Maroon History: Brazil's Promise, Suriname's Shame," 238.
[810] James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
[811] Santos and Tatto, *Agenda Socioambiental De Comunidades Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 8-9; Bim, "Mosaico De Jacuprianga, Vale Do Ribeira, São Paulo: Conservação, Conflitos, E Soluções Socioambientais," 19.

of Eldorado (formerly Xiririca), Jacupiranga, Pariquera-Açú, Registro, and Sete Barras. The Coastal Ribeira (Ribeira Sublitorânea) comprises the cities of Cananéia and Iguape. The Upper Ribeira (Alto Ribeira) is home to the mining towns of Iporanga, Apiaí, Ribeira, Itaóca, and Adrianópolis. The Valley features subtropical temperatures and heavy annual rainfall.[812]

The Brazilian military nicknamed the region "São Paulo's Amazon" (Amazônia Paulista) for its tropical rainforests, waterfalls, rivers, beaches, mountain ranges, and limestone caves.[813] The Vale do Ribeira preserves the largest concentration of Atlantic Forest remnants in Brazil, which cover approximately 60 percent of its territory.[814] Prior to the Portuguese arrival, the Mata Atlântica, or Atlantic Forest, was one of the largest tropical rainforests on the planet, covering 150 million hectares.[815] The Mata Atlântica extends 600 kilometers inland from the Atlantic coast and encompasses a wide range of habitats, including tropical rainforests, seasonal forests, mountain woodlands, grasslands, savannas, and mangrove forests.[816] These ecosystems favor high degrees of species diversity and endemism, including more than 20,000 species of plants, 261 species of mammals, 688 species of birds, 200 species of reptiles, 280 species of amphibians, and many more species that await scientific classification.[817]

Adventurers, settlers, and fortune hunters (*bandeirantes*) arrived in the Ribeira Valley in search of gold, silver, and indigenous slaves during the sixteenth century. In 1531, the Portuguese explorer Martim Afonso de Sousa established the coastal city of Cananéia, regarded

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[812] Santos and Tatto, *Agenda Socioambiental De Comunidades Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 8-9.
[813] Governo de Estado de São Paulo, "Desenvolvimento Integrado No Vale Do Ribeira," (São Paulo: Governo de Estado de São Paulo, 1968).
[814] Roberto Ulisses Resende, *As Regras Do Jogo: Legislação Florestal E Desenvolvimento Sustentável No Vale Do Ribeira* (São Paulo: FAPESP, 2002), 18.
[815] Warren Dean, *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 6-7.
[816] Ribeiro et al., "The Brazilian Atlantic Rainforest: How Much Is Left, and How Is the Remaining Forest Distributed? Implications for Conservation " 1141.
[817] Ibid., 1142.

as Brazil's oldest city, which emerged as an outpost for Portuguese expeditions to the Rio de La Plata.[818] The Vale do Ribeira quickly earned a reputation for vice, banditry, and lawlessness. The discovery of alluvial gold on the banks of the Ribeira de Iguape River lured prospectors (*garimpeiros*) to the region during the mid-seventeenth century. São Paulo's first wave of West African slaves arrived as laborers for the emerging gold rush.[819]

The boom transformed the demographic composition of the Vale do Ribeira. Apiaí, a small hamlet tucked away in the highlands near São Paulo's border with Paraná, reported a population of 123 inhabitants in 1765.[820] Two decades later, the town grew to 819 people, the majority of whom were African slaves.[821] Slaves comprised 63 percent of the population in the Ribeira Valley in 1776.[822] Male slaves outnumbered female slaves two to one.[823] Prospectors encountered a host of obstacles despite an influx of capital and captives. Rugged terrain thwarted attempts to link boomtowns like Apiaí and Iporanga through roads.[824] An outbreak of Yellow Fever decimated mining camps along the Ribeira de Iguape River.[825] Yet it was the specter of slave rebellion that ultimately dashed bandeirantes' ambitions.

Martim Lopes Lobo de Saldanha was the governor of the Captaincy of São Paulo in February 1782. He ordered Apiaí authorities to marshal bush captains (capitães de mato) to hunt fugitive slaves. "It has been brought to my attention that *negros* working in the foothill mines

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[818] Santos and Tatto, *Agenda Socioambiental De Comunidades Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 8-9.
[819] Lourdes de Fátima Carril, "Terras De Negros No Vale Do Ribeira" (Master's Thesis Universidade de São Paulo, 1995), 55.
[820] José Mauricio Arruti, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Quilombo De Cangume, Município De Itaóca, Sp* (São Paulo ITESP, 2003), 47.
[821] Ibid.
[822] Gabriela Segarra Martins Paes, "Ventura E Desventura No Rio Ribeira De Iguape" (Master's Thesis Universidade de São Paulo, 2014), 30.
[823] Arruti, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Quilombo De Cangume, Município De Itaóca, Sp*, 49.
[824] Ibid., 52.
[825] Barboza, *Relatóro Técnico-Científico Sobre as Organizações Descendentes De Quilombos De Ivaporunduva, Praia Grande, E Pilões: Vale Do Ribeira, São Paulo*, 61.

continue to escape into the woods, inflicting unspeakable losses upon their masters," he wrote.[826] "I command the council, as soon as it receives this letter, to dispatch a regiment of bush captains, who will be properly compensated by their masters."[827]

Mountains, forests, rivers, waterfalls, caverns, and abysses provided safe haven to rebel slaves.[828] Captives escaped the mines with such frequency that garimpeiros named local streams, waterfalls, and mountain ranges after quilombos. Fugitives demonstrated remarkable resourcefulness, raising temporary, clandestine settlements in the Serra do Penedo mountains or near river banks that subsisted on hunting, farming, fishing, and foraging.[829] Escaped slaves continued to pan for gold while in hiding, and Apiaí authorities referred to runaways as *lavradores d'ouro*, or "gold farmers."[830] Fugitives traded with their neighbors and formed various relationships with settlers and the small free population of color on the frontier.

Authorities in São Paulo city took notice. Governor Saldanha chastised Apiaí officials for their failure to recapture runaways and apprehend their supporters in 1776. One former slave, José de Oliveira Pardo, was accused of sheltering fugitive slaves in his farmhouse in the mountains outside Apiaí. Saldanha wrote, "I command you to pursue all means and strategies for capturing José de Oliveira Pardo to crush this rebellion and insolence, as well as the terrible consequences such a scandal portends … Bring me José de Oliveira Pardo in irons [*em ferro*] and return all the blacks [*pretos*] to their masters at once."[831] But authorities lacked the

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[826] Arruti, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Quilombo De Cangume, Município De Itaóca, Sp*, 50.
[827] Ibid.
[828] Stucchi et al., "Comunidades Negras De Ivaporunduva, São Pedro, Pedro Cubas, Sapatu, Nhunguara, André Lopes, Maria Rosa E Pilões," 61.
[829] Arruti, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Quilombo De Cangume, Município De Itaóca, Sp*, 50.
[830] Carlos Rath, *Fragmentos Geológicos E Geográficos Para a Parte Physica Da Estatística Das Províncias De S. Paulo E Paraná* (São Paulo: Imparcial, 1856), 25.
[831] "Documento 2, Para Se Prender José De Oliveira Pardo, Fortificado Nas Campinas Estradas De Apiahy," (Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo (APESP), 1776).

manpower and resources to stanch the rash of desertions.[7] Meanwhile, gold deposits along the Ribeira de Iguape River ran dry by the 1790s, causing many prospectors to abandon the region for Goiás and Minas Gerais.[832]

The Vale do Ribeira descended into chaos as garimpeiros clashed over control of the last productive mines.[833] Slaves seized the opportunity to purchase their freedom with gold acquired from their labor, a common practice associated with Brazil's mining-slave complex at the turn of the nineteenth century.[834] Many slaves were abandoned by their masters.[835] Still others escaped to the sanctuary of the highland forests. Carlos Rath, a German-born geographer who traveled to Apiaí decades later in 1855, wrote:

> The gold miners who lived there killed each other off and that is why the whites disappeared and the blacks remain near the Guaporunduva [*sic*] River, Anhanguera [*sic*], the Serra do Quilombo [mountains] etc., to this day. The slaves escaped these tragic places filled with dark memories. The Serra do Quilombo was, for a certain time, a hideout for a number of slaves, all of whom were miners [*lavradores d'ouro*] that killed their masters in the fields near Pilões and Sant'Anna [*sic*], and who found asylum in the mountains. Gold can still be found in these mountains.[836]

The collapse of the gold mining economy triggered white flight and blazed a path to freedom for the enslaved.[837]

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[832] Rinaldo Sergio Vieira Arruda, *Relátorio Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Pedro Cubas De Cima, Município De Eldorado, Sp* (São Paulo: ITESP, 2003).
[833] Rath, *Fragmentos Geológicos E Geográficos Para a Parte Physica Da Estatística Das Províncias De S. Paulo E Paraná*, 25.
[834] Isabel Vieira and Débora Stucchi, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Ivaporunduva, Município De Eldorado, Sp* (São Paulo: ITESP, 1998), 10-12; Mary Karasch, "The Quilombos of Gold in the Captaincy of Goiás," in *Freedom by a Thread: The History of Quilombos in Brazil* (New York: Diasporic Africa Press, 2016), 154. Higgins, *Licentious Liberty in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region: Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabará, Minas Gerais*.
[835] Vieira and Stucchi, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Ivaporunduva, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 19-20.
[836] Carlos Rath, "Descrição Da Região Fluvial Da Ribeira De Iguape," (Equipe de Articulação e Assessoria às Comunidades Negras do Vale do Ribeira (EAACONE), 1855-1856).
[837] Vieira and Stucchi, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Ivaporunduva, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 14.

Free persons and fugitive slaves congregated in Ivaporunduva, the region's oldest remanescente de quilombo community, during the early decades of the nineteenth century.[838] Arraial d'Ivaporunduva (Camp Ivaporunduva) was a thriving boomtown during the mid-eighteenth century, located alongside the Ribeira de Iguape River 55 kilometers west from the center of Xiririca.[839] The name Ivaporunduva signifies "river of abundant fruit" (*rio de muito vaporu*), a reference to the lush riparian forests and thick jungle vegetation that cover the landscape.[840] Ethnographer Guilherme dos Santos Barboza estimates that 200 people occupied Ivaporunduva during the gold rush and that the majority were African slaves. The population of Ivaporunduva shrunk by half following the exhaustion of fluvial deposits during the 1790s.[841] Those who remained were predominately Afro-descendant.

Joanna Maria was a native of Minas Gerais and the widow of a Portuguese miner, João Marinho. She was Ivaporunduva's largest slaveowner.[842] Her slaves included members of the Marinho, Furquim, Pupo, Pereira, Machado, Moraes, and Da Costa families, surnames that are still common in Ivaporunduva and neighboring remanescente communities today.[843] Bondsmen panned for gold, tended to provision grounds called roças, and constructed the Chapel of Our Lady of the Black Rosary (Nossa Senhora do Rosário Preto) in 1791. Joanna Maria emancipated

[838] Barboza, *Relatóro Técnico-Científico Sobre as Organizações Descendentes De Quilombos De Ivaporunduva, Praia Grande, E Pilões: Vale Do Ribeira, São Paulo*, 24; Santos and Tatto, *Agenda Socioambiental De Comunidades Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 10.
[839] Vieira and Stucchi, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Ivaporunduva, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 12-13; Santos and Tatto, *Agenda Socioambiental De Comunidades Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 93.
[840] Vieira and Stucchi, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Ivaporunduva, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 12.
[841] Barboza, "Interview with Guilherme Dos Santos Barboza."
[842] Vieira and Stucchi, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Ivaporunduva, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 12-13.
[843] Barboza, *Relatóro Técnico-Científico Sobre as Organizações Descendentes De Quilombos De Ivaporunduva, Praia Grande, E Pilões: Vale Do Ribeira, São Paulo*, 61.

her slaves and gave them lands in Ivaporunduva before her death at the age of ninety in April 1802.[844]

During the early nineteenth century, settlers in the Ribeira Valley turned to the production of rice for export to Rio de Janeiro and Santos following the decline of mining. The emergence of the rice economy signaled the arrival of new captives, who toiled on rice plantations in the wetlands of Iguape, Xiririca, and Iporanga. There were 54 landowners and 255 slaves in Xiririca in 1801.[845] By 1836, there were 102 landowners and 523 slaves, an increase of 87 percent and 105 percent, respectively.[846] The share of African-born slaves in Xiririca increased as well, from 8 percent to 30 percent of the enslaved population.[847] Planters annually exported 120,000 bushels of rice to Rio de Janeiro by 1856.[848]

The boom afforded new opportunities to black subsistence farmers in Ivaporunduva. They traversed the Ribeira de Iguape River by raft and canoe to trade surplus crops for hard currency and material goods at outposts that dotted the shoreline. The expanding marketplace fostered social interactions between farmers in Ivaporunduva, free persons of color, and former plantation slaves, who found safe haven in the remote riverside village. Bernardo Furquim was an African-born fugitive slave. He arrived in Ivaporunduva from Campinas with his wives,

[844] Ibid.
[845] Agnaldo Valentin, "Uma Civilização De Arroz: Agricultura, Comércio E Subsistência No Vale Do Ribeira, 1800-1888" (Ph.D. Dissertation Universidade de São Paulo 2012), 171.
[846] Ibid.
[847] Ibid., 167.
[848] Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo (APESP), "Ofício Da Câmara De Xiririca Ao Presidente Da Província De São Paulo," in *Ofícios diversos/"Xiririca (ano 1822/1843-1856)"*, ed. Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo (São Paulo: Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo, 1856); Paes, "Ventura E Desventura No Rio Ribeira De Iguape," 39.

Coadi and Rosa Machado, during the 1830s.[849] Gregório Marinho, a slave who toiled on the Caiacanga Plantation in Xiririca, escaped to Ivaporunduva during the 1840s.[850]

In 1791, the Chapel of Our Lady of the Black Rosary (Capela de Nossa Senhora do Rosário Preto) was built in Ivaporunduva by Joanna Maria's slaves. Slaves and free persons of color in Xiririca baptized their children at the chapel, which was administered by the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Black Rosary. Scholars have studied how baptism and membership in religious confraternities (*irmandades*) catalyzed the formation of kinship ties that helped Afro-descendants to traverse the difficulit journey from enslavement to freedom in nineteenth-century Brazil.[851] The same was true in Ivaporunduva, where the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Black Rosary raised funds for manumission and administered religious rites and sacraments to slaves and free persons.

José Francisco de Mendonça, a Franciscan friar in Xiririca, traveled to Ivaporunduva to perform hundreds of baptisms between 1817 and 1828.[852] The majority of baptisms involved the offspring of "*pardos livres*" (free persons of mixed ancestry) and "*pretos livres*" (free blacks). Newborn slaves and African-born adult captives received the sacrament of baptism at Nossa Senhora do Rosário Preto, as well. The careful selection of godparents allowed rural Afro-Brazilians to expand their networks of kinship and solidarity. *Compadrio* acted as self-defense against slave hunters, cruel overseers, and local landowners. For instance, José Marinho and

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[849] Maria Celina Pereira de Carvalho, "Os Bairros De São Pedro E Galvão/Vale Do Ribeira: Território E Parentesco " in *Prêmios Territórios Quilombolas*, ed. Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário do Brasil (MDA) (Brasília: MDA, 2007), 195-98.
[850] Arruda, *Relátorio Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Pedro Cubas De Cima, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 15.
[851] Kishimoto, *O Reinado Da Irmandade De Nossa Senhora Do Rosário Do Jatobá: Belo Horizonte, Mg*; João José Reis, *Death Is a Festival: Funeral Rites and Rebellion in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 39-41; Luis Nicolau Parés, *The Formation of Candomblé: Vodun History and Ritual in Brazil* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2013), 49-51; Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the Afro-Portuguese World*, 46-47.
[852] Family Search, "Nossa Senhora Da Guia Baptismal Records, 1817-1828."

Esmaria da França chose two associates of their former master, Joanna Maria, to be godparents to their infant son, Francisco, in 1817. Perhaps José Marinho and Esmaria de França sought to curry the favor of local rice planters against bush captains who preyed upon former slaves who lacked manumission papers in the Ribeira Valley.[853]

Freed persons in Ivaporunduva also chose plantation slaves as godparents. Theodino da Costa and his wife, Catharina da Costa, were the former slaves of Manoel Bento Dias, a rice planter from Xiririca. They chose Manoel Morato and Florinda Dias, both slaves of Dias, as godparents for their son, Fabiano, in April 1818. By doing so, Theodino and Catharina da Costa formalized the relationships they established with other slaves on the plantation. In the process, the couple strengthened the social and commercial links that tied Ivaporunduva to the enslaved population in the Xiririca lowlands. Ivaporunduva remained embedded within the dominant socioeconomic and religious institutions of nineteenth-century Brazil, much as their descendants maintained ties with political activists, researchers, and government agents during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The Vale do Ribeira remained historically inaccessible and vulnerable. Floods submerged entire plantations in the lowlands in 1807, 1809, 1826, 1833, and 1858.[854] "How tragic it was to watch as the people tried to escape in their canoes with all their earthly possessions, searching for higher ground, only to discover that the [flood] waters had gotten there first," a Catholic priest in Xiririca wrote to the Bishop of São Paulo in 1809.[855] The standing water attracted mosquitoes and rats, spreading infectious disease. "The excessive rains brought millions of rats

[853] Viviane Marinho Luz, *O Quilombo Ivaporunduva E O Enunciado Das Gerações* (São Carlos: Pedro & João Editores, 2013), 26.
[854] Paes, "Ventura E Desventura No Rio Ribeira De Iguape," 53.
[855] Ibid., 54.

who destroyed everything," the German geographer Carlos Rath wrote in 1856.[856] "Rats, sparrows, pigeons, and lizards all brought plagues. Their presence here is dangerous and often fatal to the workers, especially the slaves."[857]

Annual exports of rice to Rio de Janeiro plummeted from 160,000 bushels in 1857 to 70,000 bushels after a devastating flood in 1858 and never recovered to previous levels.[858] To make matters worse, mudslides destroyed the Valo Grande Canal, built to facilitate the passage of steamboats carrying rice from Xiririca to Iguape during the late 1830s. By 1876, large ships could no longer access the Valo Grande Canal due to the accumulation of thick sediment and debris, which severed regional trade with Santos and Rio de Janeiro.[859] Without canals, railroads, or dependable roads, economic growth in the Vale do Ribeira lagged far behind the rest of São Paulo and the coffee-rich Paraíba River Valley, in particular.[860]

Locals had little choice but to traverse the Ribeira de Iguape River by raft or canoe, a perilous proposition. João Martins da Silva was a farmer from the village of Juquiá in the Baixada Ribeira. He complained to the bishop of São Paulo about the dangers of traveling to Xiririca to attend Sunday Mass. "I risk my soul as a parishioner of Xiririca, not only because the parish is so far away but [also] because navigating the river is costly and extremely difficult, particularly when the [flood] waters flow from the mountaintops and empty into the river."[861]

Shipwrecks and drownings occurred with such frequency that officials in São Paulo city encountered difficulties in filling administrative positions in the Ribeira Valley with qualified candidates. In 1846, Joaquim de Moura Rolim of Iporanga rejected an appointment to become

[856] Ibid., 53.
[857] Ibid.
[858] Ibid., 55.
[859] Ibid.
[860] Ibid., 56.
[861] Ibid., 48.

inspector of schools in Xiririca. He wrote, "I would need to travel thirty leagues in a single day from my farm in Iporanga just to reach the village of Xiririca. The return [voyage] would take two-and-a-half days and it is extremely dangerous. I would risk my life, as well as the lives of my slaves [*cativos*] in the journey."[862]

Isolation undermined the rule of law, as well. State Decree 798/1851 required the civil registry of deaths (*óbito*) before burial ceremonies. Locals traveled three days by boat to obtain death certificates in Xiririca. Yet corpses often decomposed before burial could take place. The justice of the peace in Xiririca complained to the president of São Paulo province about the new requirement in September 1852: "It would be burdensome and useless to require the people [in the countryside] to obtain death certificates and we are no longer requiring them to do so," he wrote. "The departure and return voyage by boat [to Xiririca] can take up to three days, leaving the cadavers rot."[863] While posing obstacles to planters and local authorities, the Ribeira de Iguape River and its myriad tributaries formed a superhighway for fugitive slaves, who risked their lives in pursuit of freedom.

Slaves found other opportunities to escape bondage. The *aguardente* distillery at the Caiacanga Plantation caught fire and exploded on the evening of February 10, 1878.[864] Caiacanga belonged to Miguel Antonio Jorge, a powerful landowner nicknamed the "Rice King."[865] In 1828, at the age of 24, Jorge owned just two slaves. By 1854, he had amassed more than 300 slaves.[866] They toiled in the household, rice paddies, sugar mills, and distillery at Caiacanga, located on the right bank of the Ribeira de Iguape River in Xiririca.[867] Locals

[862] Ibid., 46.
[863] (APESP), "Ofício Da Câmara De Xiririca Ao Presidente Da Província De São Paulo."
[864] Paes, "Ventura E Desventura No Rio Ribeira De Iguape," 47.
[865] Valentin, "Uma Civilização De Arroz: Agricultura, Comércio E Subsistência No Vale Do Ribeira, 1800-1888," 64.
[866] Ibid., 118.
[867] Paes, "Ventura E Desventura No Rio Ribeira De Iguape," 60.

attributed Jorge's ascendancy to a pact with the devil.[868] Indeed, Jorge was notorious for his violent temperament and his cruelty toward slaves.[869] In 1854, rival planter Luis Alvarez da Silva demanded restitution after Jorge brutally whipped one of Silva's escaped slaves. Alvarez also accused the "Rice King" of murdering a "bush captain" he had hired to track the fugitive slave.[870]

A devastating fire occurred at Caiacanga when Jorge's nephew, José, placed a kerosene lamp next to a haystack in the basement of the distillery.[871] The haystack caught fire, setting off a chain reaction that engulfed the distillery in flames. Three slaves—Joaquina, Ingracia, and Henriqueta—and a young boy, Maximo, perished with José Jorge in the fire. Miguel Antônio Jorge, who was sleeping at his Iguape estate, survived. "The immense building was reduced to ashes and families [of slaves] scattered into the woods in a state of utter despair that only became worse as the screams of the victims grew louder," the Xiririca judge wrote in 1878.[872] Several slaves escaped Caiacanga by canoe during the confusion. They landed several days later at Marinho Beach, named after a fugitive slave, Gregório Marinho, in what is today the *remanescente* community of Pedro Cubas.[873]

Few details exist about the life and times of Gregório Marinho, the founding father of Quilombo Pedro Cubas and Quilombo Pedro Cubas de Cima. According to oral history, Marinho toiled as a slave in the rice paddies on the Caiacanga Plantation. He escaped by canoe and reached the sanctuary of Ivaporunduva during the 1840s.[874] Gregório Marinho's name first

[868] Ibid.
[869] Ibid.
[870] Ibid., 61.
[871] Ibid.
[872] Ibid., 161.
[873] Vieira and Stucchi, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Ivaporunduva, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 12-13.
[874] Ibid.

appears in the historical record in 1849 when he and his wife, Felicia, baptized their daughter, Rosa, at Nossa Senhora do Rosário Preto.[875] According to the baptismal registry, Marinho resided with his family near Múndeo Creek, one of 26 creeks and streams that flow across the community of Ivaporunduva.[876] Marinho's brother, Vicente, also resided in Ivaporunduva with his wife, Maria Antonia, and their son, Generoso.[877]

The Marinhos, like their neighbors, were small farmers who planted beans, rice, cassava, corn, yams, sweet potatoes, and sugar cane on family-owned garden plots in the Atlantic Forest. Indeed, ex-slaves established a subsistence economy in Ivaporunduva anchored by the cultivation of staple crops—rice, beans, corn, cassava (used to make flour)—and supplemented by fishing, hunting, foraging, and trade.[878] In her agro-ecological survey of remanescente de quilombo communities in the Vale do Ribeira in 2012, ecologist Cristina Adams demonstrated how the descendants of fugitive slaves and freed blacks in the Vale do Ribeira continued to employ ancestral practices of crop rotation and slash-and-burn farming.[879] Following the conclusion of the rainy season, usually in the month of June, Afro-Brazilian farmers cleared between five and seven hectares of secondary vegetation with machetes before setting the field ablaze. The ashes of trees, vines, and shrubs released vital nutrients that fertilized the soils upon which Afro-descendants raised their garden plots. Farmers abandoned their roças after two harvests, thereby allowing the forest to regenerate.[880] They cleared additional swaths of forest to

[875] Casa Paróquial de Eldorado 1813-1898.
[876] Ibid.
[877] Vieira and Stucchi, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Ivaporunduva, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 12-13.
[878] Ibid., 14-15.
[879] Adams et al., "Diversifying Incomes and Losing Landscape Complexity in Quilombola Shifting Cultivation Communities of the Atlantic Rainforest (Brazil)," 126.
[880] Ibid.

plant new gardens. After several years, farmers usually returned to the site of the original roça to recycle the land that was left fallow, thereby beginning the agricultural cycle anew.

Afro-descendant hamlets largely consisted of two areas: living space (*moradia*) and communal farmland (*capuova*), used for the cultivation of food staples.[881] The moradia included the family home, which was surrounded by a garden, an area for raising pigs, and planted fruit trees.[882] The capuova consisted of the cultivated area and a small, multifunctional mobile hut that farmers used during the planting season.[883] Each family maintained more than one capuova at a time, which often overlap with the common areas and capuovas used by other families.[884] According to ecologist Cristina Adams, rural Afro-descendants still distribute capuovas according to usufruct rules in which access to farmland was determined on a first come, first served basis; the family who first arrived and cleared the area to grow crops could use the capuova for as long as necessary.

Ancestors claimed plots close to the village center, which they distributed among various families. The family unit was extensive, cemented by bonds of solidarity and sociability based on the mutual obligations of kinship and god-parentage (*compadrio*). Ivaporunduva has historically occupied the nexus of the "*campo negro*" in the Ribeira Valley, a vast network of social and commercial relationships that bound together quilombolas, free persons of color, and plantation slaves during the nineteenth century.[885]

Gregório Marinho's story, however, took a surprising turn. In 1856, he purchased a small farm (*sítio*) named Catas Altas from his former master, Miguel Antonio Jorge, for the price of

[881] Ibid., 126-27.
[882] Ibid., 126.
[883] Ibid.
[884] Ibid.
[885] Reis and Gomes, *Freedom by a Thread: The History of Quilombos in Brazil*, 238-39; Gomes, *Mocambos E Quilombos: Uma História Do Campesinato Negro No Brasil*, 20-21.

600 *mil-réis*.[886] Catas Altas was situated on the banks of the Pedro Cubas and Ivaporunduvinha Rivers approximately 34 kilometers west from the center of Xiririca.[887] The 40-acre farm consisted of plots, a house for grinding manioc flour (*casa de farinha*), and a rice mill (*engenho de arroz*). In 1857, Vicente Marinho purchased a property named Pai Romão near his brother's farm at the confluence of the Pedro Cubas and Penteado Rivers.[888] The circumstances surrounding the Marinho family's purchase of Catas Altas and Pai Romão remain unclear. Yet their story reveals several clues about the nature of rural black communities descended from fugitive slaves in the Ribeira Valley during the nineteenth century.

First, rural Afro-descendants capitalized upon the collapse of the rice economy to expand their territorial control during the 1850s and 1860s. Historian Agnaldo Valentin explained how flood damage, in addition to the rising costs of slaves following the cessation of the Atlantic slave trade, devastated small and medium-sized planters, who represented the majority of property owners in the Vale do Ribeira.[889] Racked by debt, planters mitigated their losses by selling their farms and slaves. Even large planters like Miguel Antonio Jorge were affected by the downturn, which could explain why the "Rice King" was willing to sell Catas Altas to a fugitive slave. By the 1870s, many small and medium-sized planters had abandoned the Ribeira Valley, leaving behind a trail of vacant lands (*terras devolutas*) in the lowland rainforests of Xiririca and Iporanga. Free persons and fugitive slaves settled these lands, which are today

[886] Vieira and Stucchi, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Ivaporunduva, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 12-13.
[887] Santos and Tatto, *Agenda Socioambiental De Comunidades Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 55-57.
[888] Vieira and Stucchi, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Ivaporunduva, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 12-13.
[889] Valentin, "Uma Civilização De Arroz: Agricultura, Comércio E Subsistência No Vale Do Ribeira, 1800-1888," 169.

occupied by *comunidades remanescentes de quilombos*: Pedro Cubas, Pedro Cubas de Cima, São Pedro, Sapatu, Nhunguara, André Lopes, Maria Rosa, Porto Velho, Praia Grande, and Pilões.[890]

Second, fugitive slaves like Gregório Marinho settled remote areas crossed by rivers and covered by dense forests. The two-day journey from Xiririca to Pedro Cubas by canoe was dangerous due to strong currents and whitewater rapids on the Ribeira de Iguape River. To this day, the quilombo is accessible only by boat or by ferry (*balsa*), which departs from the village of Batatal.[891] Heavy rains during the summer months (January-March) cause the river to swell and the ferry often ceases to operate. Geographical inaccessibility thus protected maroon communities like Pedro Cubas during the final decades of slavery in Brazil. A resident of Pedro Cubas told anthropologists in 1998:

> In those days, the masters gave their slaves holidays [*dias de folga*]. The slaves escaped during the holidays, heading for the woods and making camp here next to the river, where they joined other people. More people escaped and joined them on the shores that they called Gregório Marinho Beach. That is how the first generation arrived. They started to communicate with the people of Ivaporunduva, where there were also many slaves. That's how the community [Pedro Cubas] grew.[892]

Throughout the Ribeira Valley, fugitive slaves used their knowledge of the landscape and social networks to their advantage. Iporanga authorities complained to the president of São Paulo province about the difficulty of tracking fugitive slaves in the river lands in 1863. The police chief of Iporanga wrote:

> According to tenant farmers [*moradores*] in the backlands [*sertões*] near Rio Pardo that approach the border with Paraná Province, there can be found maroons [*aquilombados*], fugitive slaves who escaped the northern reaches of the province. It is necessary that we destroy them because they could become even more dangerous and destructive to the locals. There are also reports of criminals who are in league with the *aquilombados*. But we have been unsuccessful in our

[890] Santos and Tatto, *Agenda Socioambiental De Comunidades Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 10-11.
[891] Ibid.
[892] Vieira and Stucchi, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Ivaporunduva, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 12.

> attempts to destroy them, not only because of the great distance, but because of the dangerous river. I have to remind you, Your Excellency, that even the locals [are reluctant] to hunt for the fugitive slaves living in nature, which is very dangerous.[893]

Ethnographer Guilherme dos Santos Barboza also considered how vast forests, unexplored mountains, and turbulent rivers supported the expansion of quilombo communities in the Vale do Ribeira. "I typically define quilombos such as these as communitarian organizations, essentially comprised of *negros*, living in *mucambos* [hideouts], located in geographically strategic areas called "*cafundós*," Barboza told journalists in 1993.[894] "It is just like this expression we have in Portuguese—'Cafundó de Júdas'—a place that everyone knows exists, but no one can tell you exactly where it is."[895]

Isolation nurtured the growth of the campo negro because it compelled poor farmers to collaborate in order to survive. Smallholders like Gregório and Vicente Marinho cleared thickets in the Atlantic Forest to cultivate roças*,* which they worked collectively with neighboring families: the Pupos, Pereiras, Da Costas, and Furquims.[896] Relying upon family labor and the *mutirão* (collective work), the Marinhos planted rice, beans, and cassava and exchanged surplus crops with their neighbors. Solidarity—cemented through marriage, baptism, religious celebrations, and collective work—proved necessary for survival in the hinterlands. "Our ancestors used to plant rice, beans, and corn, and they raised pigs and other animals. They used to occupy the foothills near the Peixe River, over there by the Penteado River, and all around

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[893] Patricia Scalli dos Santos, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Quilombo De Praia Grande/Iporanga-Sp* (São Paulo: ITESP, 2002), 25.
[894] "Para Quem Nasceu Lá, Quilombo É Termo De Antropólogo: Entrevista Com Guilherme Dos Santos Barboza," 10.
[895] Ibid.
[896] Arruda, *Relátorio Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Pedro Cubas De Cima, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 38-40.

here, really," a resident of Pedro Cubas told anthropologists in 1998.[897] "Everything was spread out. The people never just lived in one *bairro* [village/neighborhood]. The people married and then they would move to wherever the father-in-law lived. The people would go to live with their in-laws. It was always like that."[898]

Third, the Marinho story reveals that fugitive slaves sought official legitimation of their territorial possession. The rapid expansion of the coffee-plantation complex in rural São Paulo ushered reforms of Brazil's traditional land and labor practices.[899] The Land Law of 1850 attempted to rationalize landownership in the backlands and to create a free labor market by restricting smallholders' and squatters' (posseiros) access to land. The legislation prohibited the acquisition of vacant lands (terras devolutas) through any means but purchase and outlawed traditional practices of acquiring land: *posse* (squatting) and *sesmarias* (royal land grants).[900] The Land Law of 1850 allowed posseiros to legitimize their possession of terras devolutas only after surveying the land and paying taxes. In essence, the Land Law of 1850 invalidated the territorial claims of poor subsistence farmers, paving the way for the expansion of land colonization and commercial agriculture in the Brazilian frontier. Yet Gregório and Vicente Marinho acquired Catas Altas and Pai Romão through purchase and registered their plots at notarial offices (*cartórios*) in Xiririca in 1856, 1857, and 1861.[901] Decades later, their descendants brandished these deeds to defend their communities against the onslaught of government-sponsored projects to develop the Ribeira Valley.

[897] Vieira and Stucchi, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Ivaporunduva, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 12.
[898] Ibid.
[899] Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths & Histories*, 78.
[900] Ibid., 79.
[901] Casa Paróquial, 1813-98.

The Heirs of Gregório Marinho (c. 1930-1970)

Developers in São Paulo city aimed to transform the Vale do Ribeira during the early twentieth century. Beginning in the 1930s, the state government of São Paulo provided 50,000 hectares of land to Japanese immigrant farm workers in the municipalities of Registro, Sete Barras, and Pariquera-Açú in the Baixada Ribeira.[902] Each family received 24 hectares to cultivate rice and tea, as well as technical assistance and education.[903] In the Lower Ribeira, the state government of São Paulo transformed vacant state-owned lands (*terras devolutas*) into commercial enterprises for the cultivation of bananas and tea.[904] In the mountainous Upper Ribeira, where mechanized agriculture was difficult, the government converted public lands for cattle ranching and mineral exploration.[905] The city council of Xiririca renamed the city Eldorado in an effort to court investment in lead and silver mining in 1948.[906] The enclosure campaign on the Ribeira frontier embroiled poor communities descended from slaves in legal battles over the rightful ownership of land and natural resources that continue to this day.

Ruy Baptista Pereira, an attorney for the São Paulo State Land Commission, a branch of the São Paulo State Treasury wrote to Manoel Carlos da Costa Leite, the county judge in Xiririca, in April 1937.[907] Pereira urged the magistrate to convene a hearing to resolve the legal status of terras devolutas in Xiririca county within sixty days. He also demanded that squatters appear in Xiririca court with proof of legal title to their plots.[908] Developers in São Paulo city had

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[902] Francisco de Arruda Sampaio and Sueli Ângelo Furlan, *Government Policies, Agriculture, and Deforestation in Brazil: An Introductory Approach through Five Case Studies* (São Paulo: Instituto de Pesquisas Ambientais, 1993), 21.
[903] Ibid., 22.
[904] Adams et al., "Diversifying Incomes and Losing Landscape Complexity in Quilombola Shifting Cultivation Communities of the Atlantic Rainforest (Brazil)."
[905] Santos and Tatto, *Agenda Socioambiental De Comunidades Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 8.
[906] Ibid.
[907] "Carta À Procuradoria De Terras Do Estado De São Paulo ", (Equipe de Articulação e Assessoria às Comunidades Negras do Vale do Ribeira (EAACONE), 1937), 1-2.
[908] Ibid.

coveted 1,900 acres of "virgin forest land" that nestled the Ribeira de Iguape River between Xiririca and Iporanga. "This land is ideal for cultivating fruits and grains," Pereira wrote. "The lands are bathed by the creeks and streams that empty into the Ivaporunduvinha, Penteado, and Pedro Cubas Rivers. There are no known inhabitants in this area."[909]

In fact, state planners had known about the presence of small farming communities descended from slaves since at the least the turn of the twentieth century. In 1912, geographer Edmundo Krug described his two-day journey by canoe from Xiririca to Ivaporunduva in an article that appeared in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo*. He wrote,

> We arrived in Ivaporunduva, a place occupied by families of *pretos* [blacks], descendants of slaves from way back when. A chapel, without any notable architectural style and with only a large door, dirt floor, and two windows on the second floor that allowed the daylight to enter, rests on the highest point of the shore near Ribeira: steep hills [*morros*], like Joanna [Maria] Hill, and others, surround the chapel, making for pleasant and poetic views.[910]

Krug visited neighboring communities during his sojourn in the Vale do Ribeira, including São Pedro and Pedro Cubas. He even noted Pedro Cubas's rumored origins as a quilombo. "In one of the plantations [fazendas] in the region, I think it is called Pedro Cubas, if my memory serves me correctly, gold can still be found. The place was named after a slave, who, after learning from his master the art of combat, managed to escape and established residence there."[911]

The São Paulo State Land Commission pressed forward with plans to privatize 1,900 acres in the river lands despite, or more likely because of, the presence of poor farmers descended from slaves. Government officials vilified Afro-Brazilian peasants as obstacles to capitalist development, just as elites had demonized their ancestors for controlling the landscape

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[909] Ibid.
[910] Arruda, *Relátorio Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Pedro Cubas De Cima, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 20-21; Edmundo Krug, "Xiririca, Ivaporunduva, E Yporanga," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo* 17, no. 1 (1912).
[911] "Xiririca, Ivaporunduva, E Yporanga," 32.

in ways that challenged the mining and plantation economies central to Brazil's colonial and nineteenth-century economy. However, state officials underestimated the backlash that enclosure would inflame in the countryside. A poor farmer named José Silvério da Costa challenged the São Paulo State Land Commission's plans to seize his land in Xiririca court.

Few details exist about José Silvério da Costa's life. He was born in Pedro Cubas on June 30, 1895, the son of Bras Morato da Costa and Silvina Silvério da Costa.[912] He married Edwiges Maria da Conceição, the maternal grandmother of Antonio Benedito Jorge, a prominent activist in Quilombo Pedro Cubas today.[913] He inherited two *sítios*—Catas Altas and Pai Romão—located in what is today Quilombo Pedro Cubas de Cima. Like the majority of impoverished rural Brazilians in the 1930s, Da Costa was illiterate and likely never attended school.[23] Yet he was also litigious, later demonstrating keen awareness of Brazilian property law. His refusal to relinquish his farms led to a protracted battle with the state government of São Paulo that culminated with Pedro Cubas and Pedro Cubas de Cima's recognition as comunidades remanescentes de quilombos decades after his death.

In March 1938, São Paulo State Land Commission tried to evict José Silvério da Costa from Catas Altas and Pai Romão, alleging the farms were located on vacant state-owned lands, or terras devolutas.[914] The land commission's attorney, Ruy Baptista Pereira, invoked the Land Act of 1850 and the Republican Constitution of 1891 to defend the state government's authority to place terras devolutas up for auction to private bidders. Pereira assumed that José Silvério da Costa, like many poor farmers in Brazil, lacked legal title to his land. However, Da Costa arrived

[912]Family Search, "Nossa Senhora Da Guia Baptismal Records, 1813-1898."
[913] Arruda, *Relátorio Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Pedro Cubas De Cima, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 18.
[914] "Memorial Descritivo Do 11 Perímetro Do Município De Xiririca, Distrito De Paz De Itaúna, Comarca De Xiririca, Nos Terms Do Artigo 6 Do Decreto 6473 De 30 De Maio De 1934," (Eldorado: Equipe de Articulação e Assessoria às Comunidades Negras do Vale do Ribeira (EAACONE), 1937).

in Xiririca court with a deed that belonged to Gregório Marinho, the fugitive slave who purchased Catas Altas from his former master, Miguel Antonio Jorge, in 1856. Da Costa asked the judge to rescind the order of eviction on behalf of his family and neighbors, described by the court as the "unnamed heirs of Gregório Marinho."[915]

Furious, Pereira challenged the veracity of José Silvério da Costa and his neighbors. He wrote:

> All of this talk about Gregório Marinho was brought up by the attorney representing José Silvério da Costa and the 'OTHERS,' who aren't even related to each other! These people claim to be descendants of Gregório, who owned these lands. But how can this be true if Gregório was never the proprietor of the lands in this perimeter? … Did José Silvério da Costa bring proof of a title in his [own] name? No. Did he demonstrate that he was the heir of Gregório Marinho? No. Did he prove that Gregório was even the owner of these lands? No. Your honor, he [José Silvério da Costa] doesn't have title. He does not have possession [*posse*]. He cannot be recognized as the proprietor of the land in question.[916]

Pereira's tactics were effective. He calculated that the defendants lacked documentation to authenticate their identities and substantiate their descent from Gregório Marinho. The Constitution of 1891 mandated civil registries of births, deaths, and marriages where previously only ecclesiastical registries had existed.[917] In the Ribeira Valley, where the presence of state institutions was historically weak, church marriages and common-law marriages prevailed. Although José Silvério da Costa and Edwiges Maria da Conceição were married in the Catholic Church, they were not legally married because they never recorded their marriage in a civil registry.[918] Pereira seized upon the couple's failure to legalize their marriage to cast doubt upon

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[915] "Memorial Descritivo Do 11 Perímetro Do Município De Xiririca, Distrito De Paz De Itaúna, Comarca De Xiririca, Nos Termos Do Artigo 6 Do Decreto 6473 De 30 De Maio De 1934," (Equipe de Articulação e Assessoria às Comunidades Negras do Vale do Ribeira (EAACONE), 1938).
[916] "Carta Do Estado De São Paulo Procuradoria De Terras Ao Secretário Da Justiça E Negócios Do Interior," (Equipe de Articulação e Assesoria às Comunidades Negras do Vale do Ribeira (EAACONE), 1940).
[917] Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slaves and Freed People in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1910*, xxi.
[918] French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast*, 44-45; Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slaves and Freed People in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1910*, xv.

their relation to Gregório Marinho and to disqualify their neighbors' claims to Catas Altas. This stratagem foreshadowed how landowners challenged the veracity of communities' claims to maroon ancestry in Brazil during the 1990s and 2000s.[919]

The São Paulo State Land Commission opposed José Silvério da Costa's territorial claims on a technicality. Under Decree 6473/1938 which regulated the privatization of terras devolutas in São Paulo state, squatters could be recognized as legal proprietors if they demonstrated "uninterrupted dominion" of the land for a period of at least thirty years, a legal principle known in Brazil as usucapião (adverse possession).[920] Article 2, Section 20 also required that squatters provide the State Treasury of São Paulo and the Judiciary Section of the São Paulo Land and Colonization Board with "justification" (*justificação*) of their dominion.[921] Justification obliged squatters to survey the land themselves and to conduct an inventory of the property, which included the dates of occupation, the legal names of all occupants, the type and quantity of crops and livestock, the projected costs of improvements, and an estimate of the property's market value.[922] Da Costa and his neighbors failed to demonstrate long-term dominion of Catas Altas, Pereira argued, because the 1861 deed belonged to Gregório Marinho and no one else. Nor could farmers in Pedro Cubas fulfill the obligations of justificação due to their "absolute lack of financial resources."[923]

In 1940, a judge ordered the eviction of José Silvério da Costa and the heirs of Gregório Marinho from Catas Altas. The farmers protested the court's decision. Their public defense attorney, Haroldo de Barros Cardoso, wrote a scathing letter to the Xiririca magistrate. "It seems

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[919] For more about external and internal accusations of *remanescentes de quilombos* as "racial frauds," see Farfán-Santos, *Black Bodies, Black Rights: The Politics of Quilombolismo in Brazil*, 112-32.
[920] Governo do Estado de São Paulo, "Decreto-Lei 6473/1938," ed. Governo do Estado de São Paulo (1938).
[921] Ibid.
[922] Ibid.
[923] Haroldo de Barros Cardoso, "Razões Finais Dos Réus José Silvério Da Costa E Outros Herdeiros De Gregório Marinho," (Equipe de Articulação e Assessoria às Comunidades Negras do Vale do Ribeira (EAACONE), 1940).

unbelievable to me that the state of São Paulo would strain so hard to deny a Brazilian family the right to defend the lands [upon which] they have worked so hard."[924] In August 1941, Da Costa and his neighbors appealed the court's decision.[32] For the next thirty years, the case of the *State Treasury of São Paulo v. José Silvério da Costa and Unnamed Heirs of Gregório Marinho* stalled in the São Paulo State Court of Appeals, the by-product of a Brazilian legal system that intended to perpetuate rather than resolve conflicts over land.[33]

What insights into quilombos' histories and legacies can we draw from the legal battle between the government of São Paulo and the heirs of Gregório Marinho? First, poor farmers descended from quilombos used historical memory and legal claims predating emancipation to challenge territorial dispossession decades prior to the enactment of Article 68.[925] An extensive body of scholarship has examined how slaves and free persons throughout the Americas invoked legal claims to demand fair treatment and even freedom.[926] However, these studies have focused disproportionately on cities despite the fact that slavery in Latin America was a predominately rural phenomenon. In a similar vein, research of twentieth-century Afro-Brazilian political activism has focused on cities like Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Salvador while largely ignoring the countryside.[927] Few researchers—with the notable exception of Walter Fraga, Hebe de Castro, and Oscar de la Torre—have investigated rural Afro-Brazilians' legal struggles for

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[924] Ibid.
[925] Torre, "The Land Is Ours and We Are Free to Do All That We Want: Quilombos and Black Rural Protest in Amazonia, Brazil, 1917-1929," 34.
[926] Scott, "Exploring the Meaning of Freedom: Post-Emancipation Societies in Comparative Perspective."; Fuente, "Slave Law and Claims-Making in Cuba: The Tannenbaum Debate Revisited."; Chalhoub, *Visões Da Liberdade: Uma História Das Últimas Décadas Da Escravidão Na Corte*; Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slaves and Freed People in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1910*. Grineberg, *O Fiador Dos Brasileiros: Cidadania, Escravidão, E Direito Civil No Temo De Antônio Pereira Rebouças*.
[927] Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*; Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988*; Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*; Sansone, *Blackness without Ethnicity: Constructing Race in Brazil* ; Twine, *Racism in a Racial Democracy: The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil*; John Burdick, *Blessed Anastácia: Women, Race, and Popular Christianity in Brazil* (New York: Rutledge Press, 1998).

land after the abolition of slavery in 1888.[928] This is because scholars have generally assumed that rural communities descended from slaves lacked the collective identities and the juridical bases—charters, treaties, deeds—to stake claim to territorial rights until after the enactment of Article 68 in 1988.

The case of José Silvério da Costa and the heirs of Gregório Marinho challenges the conventional wisdom that descendants of slaves, as well as ex-maroons, transitioned into a rural peasantry wracked by poverty but devoid of racial and historical consciousness. Farmers in Pedro Cubas were meticulous record keepers, preserving ancestral deeds that attested to their status as legitimate proprietors. They were not alone. All throughout the Vale do Ribeira, poor farmers descended from slaves faced the threat of eviction. Like Da Costa, they appeared in Xiririca court with titles that belonged to their ancestors—maroons, slaves, and freed persons—who resided in Ivaporunduva, Pedro Cubas, and the surrounding area during the nineteenth century. For instance, smallholders in Ivaporunduva claimed to be heirs of Salvador Pupo, one of Joanna Maria's former slaves.[929] In August 1943, they furnished Salvador Pupo's 1842 deed to substantiate their long-term dominion.[930] Another family in Ivaporunduva provided the court with an 1872 deed that belonged to José Meira Marinho, a relative of Gregório and Vicente Marinho. These circumstances indicate that rural Afro-Brazilians living in the Ribeira Valley had perceived their rights to land as stemming from their descent from the original founders of these communities.

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[928] Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slaves and Freed People in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1910*; Castro, *Das Cores Do Silêncio: Os Significados Da Liberdade No Sudeste Escravista No Século Xix*; Torre, "The Land Is Ours and We Are Free to Do All That We Want: Quilombos and Black Rural Protest in Amazonia, Brazil, 1917-1929." "Are They Really Quilombos? Black Peasants, Politics, and the Meaning of Quilombo in Present-Day Brazil."

[929] "Memorial Descritivo Do 11 Perímetro Do Município De Xiririca, Distrito De Paz De Itaúna, Comarca De Xiririca, Nos Termos Do Artigo 6 Do Decreto 6473 De 30 De Maio De 1934."

[930] "Cartório Do Primeiro Ofício E Do Registro Geral De Imóveis E Hipotecas," (Equipe de Articulação e Assessoria às Comunidades Negras do Vale do Ribeira (EAACONE), 1951).

These circumstances also reveal that rural Afro-Brazilians, including maroon descendants, nurtured a collective history that they would use for legal and political battles.[931] The descendants of slaves who faced eviction during the 1930s emphasized the continuous occupation of the land by families with the same surnames: Marinho, Furquim, Meira, Costa, Pupo, Vieira, Pedroso, Moraes, Araújo, Machado, Pereira, Santos, and Silva.[932] Each of these surnames traced their origins to the original settlers of Ivaporunduva, which also included fugitive slaves Gregório Marinho and Bernardo Furquim. Xiririca court documents revealed the identities of the "unnamed heirs" of Gregório Marinho in 1963: Virgilio Silvério da Costa, Antonia Silvério da Costa, Tomé Santana da Costa, Isabela Cecilia da Costa, Sebastião Furquim, Antonia Meira, Honorato Silvério, Dulmás Silvério, Porfirio João Lourenço, Paula Antonia, and Arminda Maria da Gloria.[933] By establishing a link between themselves and their ancestors whose names appeared in the nineteenth-century deeds, the defendants demonstrated the importance of the intergenerational transmission of historical knowledge in the campo negro.[934]

If rural Afro-Brazilians in the Vale do Ribeira did not consistently embrace quilombo-descendant identities against outsiders until after the enactment of Article 68 in 1988, we might ask: which incentives existed for rural Afro-Brazilians to claim maroon ancestry publicly during the 1930s and 1940s? The Brazilian government did not offer any kind of restitution to ex-maroons. Further, the enduring stigma of slavery led many to conceal their enslaved pasts, compounded by their disparagement as "hicks."[935] Indeed, Afro-Brazilians in the Vale do Ribeira

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[931] For a similar trend concerning Colombia's Cumbal Indians, see Rappaport, *Cumbe Reborn: An Andean Ethnography of History*, 41.
[932] Ibid., 32.
[933] "Cartório Do Primeiro Ofício E Do Registro Geral De Imóveis E Hipotecas," (Equipe de Articulação e Assessoria às Comunidades Negras Rurais do Vale do Ribeira (EAACONE), 1963).
[934] *Cumbe Reborn: An Andean Ethnography of History*, 90.
[935] Gomes, *Mocambos E Quilombos: Uma História Do Campesinato Negro No Brasil*, 22; Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slaves and Freed People in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1910*, xiii.

confronted racial prejudice. Renato Queiróz, an anthropologist who conducted ethnographic research in Ivaporunduva during the 1970s, observed how lighter-skinned, urban denizens discriminated against darker-skinned peoples in the countryside.[936] Queiróz wrote, "They called them 'people from the boonies,' 'people with six fingers on each hand,' 'people who don't work,' 'those that speak [Portuguese] differently'… Hicks [*caipiras*] and *negros*, a double stigma, a difficult and painful reflection of our urban, industrial, Brazilian society that exploits the poor, peasants, and people of color."[937]

Admittedly, the Ivaporunduva community's allusions to maroon history were telegraphic, especially when compared to the Saramaka Maroons of Suriname, the subject of Richard Price's historical ethnography, *First-Time* (2002). Nevertheless, José Silvério da Costa and his associates defended their long-standing occupation of the river lands by appealing to genealogical memory and by brandishing nineteenth-century documentation that belonged to a fugitive slave. Contrary to the notion that remanescentes de quilombos of Brazil "lacked the clear historical continuities to slave-era rebel communities" and the "deep historical consciousness of resistance to slavery that still flourish[es] in other parts of the Americas," the descendants of Gregório Marinho demonstrated both over the course of the twentieth century.[938]

3. The Quilombo Movement in the Vale do Ribeira, 1970-2018

What happened to the descendants of Gregório Marinho in the Ribeira Valley? José Silvério da Costa died sometime during the 1970s. Da Costa's widow, Edwiges Maria da Conceição, and their children remained on the family farms.[939] Cesar Ferreira, a resident of

[936] Queiróz, *Caipiras Negros No Vale Do Ribeira: Um Estudo Antropológico Econômica*, 26.
[937] Ibid.
[938] Price, *First-Time: The Historical Vision of an African American People*, 238.
[939] Arruda, *Relátorio Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Pedro Cubas De Cima, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 18.

Pedro Cubas de Cima, inherited part of Catas Altas. He granted permission to the Curitiba-based mining company, Eli, to mine for lead, silver, and baryte on the shores of the Pedro Cubas River. During the 1980s, Abel Bernardino de Santos, an investor from Jundiaí, evicted the descendants of José Silvério da Costa and Edwiges Maria da Conceição from Catas Altas and Pai Romão.[940] Residents told anthropologists in 2002, "He [Abel Bernardino de Santos] invaded and seized the land through force, with armed thugs [*capangas*]. They burned houses to the ground and there were deaths. Many people sold their lands out of fear. Dito Chapéu [a resident] was evicted more than once, and so were Antonio Benedito Jorge and Adão Rolim Dias."[941] In 2018, farmers in Pedro Cubas and Pedro Cubas de Cima are still fighting to reclaim their ancestral lands.

The eviction of maroon descendants in Pedro Cubas and Pedro Cubas de Cima coincided with the advance of military-sponsored development projects in the Vale do Ribeira during the 1970s and 1980s. The expansion of the BR-116 Federal Highway, which linked São Paulo to Curitiba, and the creation of SP State Road 165, which connected Eldorado to Iporanga, produced a speculative bubble in the Ribeira Valley.[942] The arrival of cattle ranchers, banana farmers, and mining companies led to violent clashes with posseiros, including the descendants of quilombos. The creation of state parks and the enactment of environmental restrictions on subsistence farming in the Atlantic Forest also posed challenges to maroon descendants, whose livelihoods came under attack.[943] In 1989, the Brazilian Aluminum Company (CBA) and Votorantim Corporation proposed to construct four hydroelectric dams—Tijuco Alto, Batatal, Itaóca, and Funil—that threatened to flood 11,000 hectares of rainforest and submerge five rural

[940] Ibid.
[941] Ibid.
[942] Santos and Tatto, *Agenda Socioambiental De Comunidades Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 8-9.
[943] Adams et al., "Diversifying Incomes and Losing Landscape Complexity in Quilombola Shifting Cultivation Communities of the Atlantic Rainforest (Brazil)."

black communities descended from slaves that occupy the banks of the Ribeira de Iguape River: Praia Grande, André Lopes, Nhunguara, Sapatu, and Ivaporunduva.[944]

Rural black communities enlisted the support of two organizations linked to the Liberationist Catholic Church in Brazil: the Pastoral Land Commission (Comissão Pastoral da Terra, CPT) and the Movement of Peoples' Threatened by Dams (Movimento dos Ameaçados por Barragens, MOAB). In 1978, CPT opened a field office in the city of Registro in the Vale do Ribeira, assisting posseiros, landless workers, and rural black communities caught in the crossfire of *grilagem* (land-grabbing) and development projects. CPT agents taught literacy classes, offered legal counsel, and formed Christian base communities in which participants learned to read and interpret the Gospels in light of their lived experiences of struggle. "In those days, we had the Church, we had the CPT. They came to help us organize [politically] because we didn't have much experience with those things," Elvira Morato, a leader of the Quilombola Association of São Pedro, told me in a 2015 oral history.[945] "That's how we learned to become activists. Without their help we wouldn't be here today."[946]

In 1980, CPT agents helped members of São Pedro to form an *associação de moradores.* The association opposed a cattle rancher, Francisco Tibúrico, who had evicted families residing on the right margin of the Ribeira de Iguape River. Carlitos da Silva, a member of the neighborhood association in São Pedro and a descendant of fugitive slave Bernardo Furquim, was shot dead by Tibúrcio's assassins on July 2, 1982. The tragedy became a rallying cry. Not only did the murder capture the attention of the Catholic Archdiocese of São Paulo, it also emboldened farmers to fight for their lands. "We were threatened. Some of us left [São Pedro]

[944] Pinto, *Moab: A Saga De Um Povo*, 10-11.
[945] Elvira Morato, interview by Edward Shore, March 12, 2015, Quilombo São Pedro.
[946] Ibid.

and some of us fled the region altogether," Aurico Dias of Quilombo São Pedro told me in a 2015 oral history.[947] "But thanks to our faith in God, we were able to rise up again, quickly, and discovered the courage to take back what was ours."[948]

The Movement of Peoples Threatened by Dams (MOAB) also played a decisive role in the political organization of Afro-Brazilian peasants in the Vale do Ribeira. Maria Sueli Berlanga and Ângela Biagioni of the Sisters of Jesus the Good Shepherd (shepherdesses, or *pastorinhas*) founded MOAB in the town of Eldorado in 1989.[949] MOAB was previously affiliated with the national network of anti-dam activists, MAB (Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens).[950] In 1991, Berlanga and Biagioni changed the Eldorado organization's name to MOAB to evoke the sacred place where, according to Hebrew Scripture, God reaffirmed his covenant with the Israelites before Moses's death. MOAB organized Afro-Brazilian peasants in the Vale do Ribeira against the dams while pursuing legal action against CBA, Votorantim Corporation, and the state government of São Paulo. Further, MOAB coordinated a "consciousness raising campaign" to educate communities about Article 68 and its implications.[951]

Afro-descendant farmers and fishermen in communities like Ivaporunduva, São Pedro, and Pedro Cubas, supported by MOAB, demanded legal recognition and territorial rights as "remanescentes de quilombos" during the early 1990s. They transformed a historical memory of exploitation into a moral appeal and legal claim to pressure the Brazilian government to recognize their dominion of ancestral lands based on resistance to slavery. At town hall meetings and public demonstrations in São Paulo, Curitiba, and Brasília, quilombola activists from the

[947] Dias, "Interview with Aurico Dias."
[948] Ibid.
[949] Berlanga, "Interview with Maria Sueli Berlanga."; Pinto, *Moab: A Saga De Um Povo*.
[950] For the formation of MAB, see Franklin Daniel Rothman and Pamela E. Oliver, "From Local to Global: The Anti-Dam Movement in Southern Brazil, 1979-1992," *Mobilization: An International Journal* 4, no. 1 (1999).
[951] Berlanga, "Interview with Maria Sueli Berlanga."

Vale do Ribeira portrayed their opposition to the dams as the continuation of a struggle against enslavement and historical oppression that began with their ancestors. A protest song, "*Por quê o negro mora lá*?" ("Why does the *negro* live out there?"), composed by Dona Jovita Furquim de França of São Pedro, captured this sentiment:

> Why does the *negro* live out there? Why does the *negro* live out there? / They are wise black folk, the descendants of wise black folks, and that's why they *still* live there. / We are people of the *quilombo* and we carry on our shoulders the marks of slavery. / That's why we are fighting this war to defend our lands, and we will never surrender! / No, we will never surrender! / Why do black folk live out there? Why do black folk live out there? / We are black warriors who trust in our Lord, who comes to our aid in this battle to defend our lands.[952]

Like their ancestors, quilombola activists also took action through the courts to defend their lands. In 1994, Ivaporunduva became the first quilombo community to sue the Brazilian government for its failure to apply Article 68.[953] The lawsuit was overseen by Sr. Michael Mary Nolan, an American nun of the Sisters of the Holy Cross and attorney working for the Archdiocesan Human Rights Commission of São Paulo, and Luiz Eduardo Greenhalgh, a human rights lawyer and Workers' Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores, or PT) activist.[954] The attorneys commissioned Guilherme dos Santos Barboza, the Afro-Brazilian ethnographer who drew attention to the plight of the rural black community of Cafundó, to publish an anthropological study of Ivaporunduva, Praia Grande, and Pilões, which traced these communities' origins to Joanna Maria's former bondsmen and fugitive slaves.[955] Each member of the community of Ivaporunduva signed the pleading, the first of its kind in Brazil.[956] Their action to sue the Brazilian government for its failure to bestow federal benefits and collective rights to land in

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[952] Instituto Socioambiental, "Sementes De Quilombos," in *Sistema Agrícola Quilombola* (2016).
[953] Nolan et al., "Advocacia."
[954] Nolan, "Interview with Michael Mary Nolan."; Berlanga, "Interview with Maria Sueli Berlanga." Nolan et al., "Advocacia," 1-30.
[955] Barboza, "Interview with Guilherme Dos Santos Barboza."; *Relatóro Técnico-Científico Sobre as Organizações Descendentes De Quilombos De Ivaporunduva, Praia Grande, E Pilões: Vale Do Ribeira, São Paulo*.
[956] Nolan, "Interview with Michael Mary Nolan."

accordance with Article 68 marked a sea change in rural black politics in the Vale do Ribeira. As this chapter has demonstrated, the community's perseverance rested on agro-ecological mastery, social networks, and historical memories of resistance to slavery. The courtroom furnished a new venue for struggle.

The 1994 lawsuit had a significant impact. On November 20, 1997, in commemorating Black Consciousness Day, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso granted legal recognition and collective land titles to Ivaporunduva and six other remanescentes de quilombos in Brazil.[957] In São Paulo, Governor Mario Covas charged the São Paulo Institute of Agrarian Reform (ITESP) with certifying and titling remanescentes de quilombos that occupied vacant public lands in 1996. Pedro Cubas, São Pedro, Maria Rosa, Pilões, and Galvão obtained collective land titles to at least part of their ancestral territories by 2003. That same year, President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva issued Decree 4.887/2003, which entrusted the Palmares Cultural Foundation with overseeing the anthropological certification of rural black communities as remanescentes de quilombos and charged INCRA, the land reform agency, with demarcating and titling quilombola lands.[958]

Several of the descendants of José Silvério da Costa and Edwiges Maria da Conceição who were evicted during the 1980s returned to the Vale do Ribeira during the early 2000s.[959] Pai Romão, Vicente Marinho's old farm, is included in the Pedro Cubas deed. However, Catas Altas, the farm that belonged to Gregório Marinho and his heir, José Silvério da Costa, was excluded, occupied by a São Paulo-based rancher. Afro-Brazilian farmers in Pedro Cubas and Pedro Cubas de Cima have unsuccessfully lobbied state officials to expel the rancher from Catas Altas.

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[957] Pinto, *Moab: A Saga De Um Povo*, 27-28.
[958] Farfán-Santos, *Black Bodies, Black Rights: The Politics of Quilombolismo in Brazil*, 112-13.
[959] Arruda, *Relátorio Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Pedro Cubas De Cima, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 18-19.

The ongoing battle to reclaim Catas Altas highlights the challenges that many remanescentes de quilombos in Brazil still face three decades after the ratification of Article 68. Although 88 communities in the Vale do Ribeira have petitioned for legal recognition as remanescentes de quilombos, just 47 communities have obtained anthropological certification from the Palmares Cultural Foundation.[960] Only Ivaporunduva has obtained a full title to its territory. Where remanescentes de quilombos claim private land—which is the case in Pedro Cubas and Pedro Cubas de Cima—the Brazilian government must indemnify the landowner. INCRA, the federal agency in charge of titling quilombola lands and compensating landowners, has moved forward haltingly with such cases. In fact, only 15 comunidades remanescentes de quilombos in Brazil fully occupy their ancestral lands. For the descendants of Gregório Marinho, the fight for land and rights continues. The next chapter will explore in greater detail the socio-environmentalist dimension of quilombola activism in the Vale do Ribeira.

[960] Palmares, "Certidões Expedidas Às Comunidades Remanescentes De Quilombos (Crqs) Atualizada Até a Portaria No. 104/2016, Publicada No Dou De 20/05/2016."

Chapter Six:

The Environmentalism of the Poor and the Greening of Rural Black Politics in São Paulo's Vale do Ribeira, 1989-2017

On August 19, 2016, Afro-descendant farmers and fishermen from 23 quilombos packed into the Nossa Senhora da Guia Catholic Church in Eldorado, a small town located 200 kilometers southeast of São Paulo city in the heartland of the Vale do Ribeira. They arrived to participate in a town hall meeting on the eve of the IX Feira de Troca de Sementes e Mudas Tradicionais Quilombolas (Ninth Annual Traditional Quilombola Seeds and Seedlings Exchange Fair). Instituto Socioambiental (Socio-environmental Institute, ISA), a São Paulo-based socio-environmentalist NGO that has supported the political mobilization of maroon-descendant communities in the Vale do Ribeira since 1996, sponsored the event.[961] Since 2007, quilombolas, have gathered in Eldorado to exchange seeds, roots, crops, livestock, fish, and oysters to promote food sovereignty and protest the intrusion of mining companies, cattle ranchers, and forest rangers on ancestral lands.

In 2016, the *feira* publicized the impact of climate change on the livelihoods of maroon-descendant communities. Quilombolas highlighted the challenges that shifting weather patterns posed to farmers and fishermen who have depended on the Ribeira Valley's fragile ecosystems—forests, marshes, rivers, and beaches— for their subsistence. "In the old days, we used to plant a liter of beans and reaped forty liters in our harvest," said Vandir Rodrigues da Silva, a farmer from Quilombo Ivaporunduva. "Today, God willing, we are lucky if we collect twenty liters. The rich have the means of making changes in a laboratory and buying GMO

[961] Nilto Tatto, interview by Edward Shore, August 5, 2015, Brasília.

seeds, but we do not. We are going to go hungry, and so will other Brazilians, because we are the ones who feed Brazil."[962]

Francisco "Chico" Salles Coutinho, a fisherman from Quilombo Mandira on the Atlantic coastline near Cananéia, worried about plagues (*pragas*) that were attacking oysters. "The oysters are suffering from pragas. The barnacles are sticking to their shells. The barnacles always used to be there. But now the number of stuck mussels is growing. When we peel off the barnacles, all that is left is a smaller oyster that doesn't grow like it used to."[963] Coutinho also voiced concern about the dwindling population of sea bass. "By July and August, the bass should arrive. They still haven't this year." Coutinho attributed their absence to warming temperatures and torrential rains. "This year, the oysters' haven't reproduced while the mussels have. No one can explain why."[964]

Quilombolas' anxieties about the degradation of the natural environment are not new. Beginning in the 1930s, Afro-descendant farmers and fishermen confronted an onslaught of government-sponsored projects to develop the Vale do Ribeira, the poorest region of São Paulo state and Paraná. The expansion of the BR-166 Federal Highway, which linked São Paulo to Curitiba, and the creation of São Paulo State Road 165, which connected Eldorado to the town of Iporanga, produced a speculative bubble in the region during the 1960s and 1970s. The arrival of cattle ranchers, banana farmers, and mining companies led to violent clashes with small farmers and posseiros, which included the descendants of maroons. Geographic inaccessibility, the communities' historic bulwark, was being gradually eroded through expansion of markets,

[962] Instituto Socioambiental, "Quem Paga a Conta Das Mudanças Climáticas?," *Notícias Socioambientais* (2016), https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/quem-paga-a-conta-das-mudancas-climaticas.
[963] Ibid.
[964] Ibid.

transportation, and infrastructure. In 1982, Carlitos da Silva, an activist from Quilombo São Pedro, was assassinated by hitmen working for Francisco Tibúrcio, a rancher from São Paulo.

Developmentalist policies in the Vale do Ribeira unleashed environmental degradation that disproportionately impacted the lands and livelihoods of the rural poor. Land colonization and the arrival of cattle ranchers from São Paulo and Minas Gerais led to the clearing of rainforests for pasture.[965] Mining for lead, zinc, copper, and baryte (used to produce aluminum) poisoned water sources and eroded fertile soils in the Upper Ribeira.[966] Four proposed hydroelectric dams- Tijuco Alto, Itaóca, Batatal, and Funil- threatened to flood 11,000 hectares of rainforest and fully submerge five quilombo communities that occupy the banks of the Ribeira de Iguape River: Praia Grande, André Lopes, Nhunguara, Sapatu, and Ivaporunduva.[967] Quilombolas lost dozens of rare and nutritious varieties of rice, beans, corn, cassava, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, and other crops, triggering a dramatic reduction in food sovereignty and agro-biodiversity in the one of the planet's most fragile tropical forests.[968]

In addition, government policies to protect the remaining Atlantic Forest and foment ecotourism imperiled the agricultural practices and cultural traditions of rural black communities.[969] Green-grabbing, the appropriation of traditional peoples' lands and resources for conservationist ends, further endangered the livelihoods of quilombolas who have historically

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[965] Adams et al., "Diversifying Incomes and Losing Landscape Complexity in Quilombola Shifting Cultivation Communities of the Atlantic Rainforest (Brazil)."
[966] Arruti, *Relatório Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Quilombo De Cangume, Município De Itaóca, Sp*.
[967] Maria Aparecida Mendes Pinto, *MOAB: A Saga de um Povo* (Eldorado, SP: MOAB/EAACONE, 2014), 95; Instituto Socioambiental (ISA), *Tijuco Alto: Saiba porque ela não interessa ao Vale do Ribeira* (São Paulo: Instituto Socioambiental, 2002), 3-4.
[968] For scholarly examination of "food sovereignty" and "food security," see Eric Holt-Giménez and Raj Patel, *Food Rebellions! Crisis and the Hunger for Justice* (Oakland: FoodFirst Books, 2009); Vandana Shiva, ed. *Seed Sovereignty, Food Security: Women in the Vanguard* (Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 2015).
[969] Instituto Socioambiental, "Sistema Agrícola Quilombola Do Vale Do Ribeira Pode Se Tornar Patrimônio Cultural Brasileiro," (2016), https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/sistema-agricola-quilombola-do-vale-do-ribeira-pode-se-tornar-patrimonio-cultural-brasileiro?utm_medium=email&utm_source=transactional&utm_campaign=manchetes%40socioambiental.org.

relied on farming, fishing, hunting, and extraction for their subsistence and trade.[970] Conservation areas, including the Upper Ribeira Valley Touristic State Park (PETAR) and Intervales State Park, created in 1958 and 1995 respectively, encroached on the lands of more than a dozen quilombo communities.[971] The Forest Police (Polícia Florestal), bolstered by military helicopters patrols, enforced environmental restrictions on subsistence farming and the use of fire for shifting cultivation.[972] Development and conservationist policies contributed to the material and symbolic displacement of Afro-descendant communities from ancestral lands, a phenomenon that geographer Ulrich Oslender has termed "de-territorialization."[973] Hundreds of maroon descendants fled their communities and relocated to cities, including Eldorado, Curitiba, and Grande São Paulo.[974] Still, rural black communities have fought back.

In this chapter, I explore the greening of rural black politics in the Vale do Ribeira since the advent of Article 68. Beginning in the 1980s, the descendants of quilombos gained leverage in conflicts over resources and power in the Atlantic Forest as international environmentalist NGOs, anthropologists, and the World Bank decried the alarming pace of environmental destruction in Brazil and its impact upon the lands and livelihoods of forest peoples.[975] Rural black communities enlisted allies—the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA) and the Movement of Peoples Threatened by Dams (MOAB)—that reframed their historical struggles for legal rights

[970] Fairhead, Leach, and Scoones, "Green Grabbing: A New Appropriation of Nature?."
[971] Santos and Tatto, *Agenda Socioambiental De Comunidades Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 8-9.
[972] Alexandre Ribeiro Filho, "Impacto Do Sistema Agrícola Itinerante Sobre Os Solos De Remanescente De Mata Atlântica Com Uso E Ocupação Por Comunidades Quilombolas No Vale Do Ribeira, São Paulo, Brasil" (Ph.D. diss, Universidade de São Paulo, 2015); Instituto Socioambiental, "Sistema Agrícola Quilombola," (São Paulo 2016).
[973] Oslender, "The Logic of the River: A Spatial Approach to Ethnic-Territorial Mobilization in the Colombian Pacific Region."
[974] Adams et al., "Diversifying Incomes and Losing Landscape Complexity in Quilombola Shifting Cultivation Communities of the Atlantic Rainforest (Brazil)."
[975] Garfield, *In Search of the Amazon: Brazil, the United States, and the Nature of a Region*, 224; Eduardo Viola, "O Movimento Ecológico No Brasil," in *Ecologia & Política No Brasil*, ed. José Augusto Pádua (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas de Rio de Janeiro, 1987), 80. Hochstetler and Keck, *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*, 98.

and social justice in socio-environmentalist terms.[976] In contrast to traditional conservationists, who called for the protection of "wilderness" from human intervention, proponents of socio-environmentalism (*socioambientalismo*) advocated for models of sustainable development that recognized the use rights of quilombolas to tropical rainforests.[977]

I examine how quilombola activists and their supporters in the Vale do Ribeira have proposed an alternative path to development based on the sustainable use of land and forest resources, the inclusion of rivers, waterfalls, forests, and mangroves in collective land titles, and respect for traditional knowledge and spatial practices. Using oral histories and archival collections at the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA), this final chapter investigates how quilombola activism for "environmental justice" and "alternative development" draws heavily from a language of "freedom," "autonomy," and "subsistence rights" redolent of their ancestors' struggles.

This chapter, tracing the rise of maroon environmentalism in the Atlantic Forest, is divided into three parts. The first section explores government policies to develop the Vale do Ribeira through environmental protection during the postwar period and considers their impact upon the agricultural and land tenure practices of comunidades remanescentes de quilombos. The second part explains the emergence of green activism and socio-environmentalism in Brazil during the 1970s and 1980s, which emerged against the backdrop of military-sponsored development of the Amazon and the popular ferment of re-democratization. The final section

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[976] See Movimento dos Ameaçados por Barragens (MOAB), "Manifesto Do Moab," (Eldorado: Equipe de Articulação e Assessoria às Comunidades Negras Rurais 1991); Instituto Socioambiental, *Audiência Pública Em Eldorado*, November 30 1996; Andrade and Tatto, *Inventário Cultural De Quilombos Do Vale Do Ribeira*; Santos and Tatto, *Agenda Socioambiental De Comunidades Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira*.

[977] Alier, *The Environmentalism of the Poor: A Study of Ecological Conflicts and Valuation*, 11-13; Diegues, *Etnoconservação: Novos Rumos Para a Conservação Da Natureza*, 40-43; Hochstetler and Keck, *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*, 109-13; Hecht and Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers, and Defenders in the Amazon*, 208-09.

analyzes how quilombolas in the Atlantic Forest have embraced the tenets of socio-environmentalism while channeling their agro-ecological knowledge systems and historical memory of resistance to reclaim territorial autonomy.

1. Making Legible the Vale do Ribeira, 1937-1988

As noted, Afro-Brazilian peasants residing in the Vale do Ribeira have faced an array of government-sponsored projects to develop their traditionally occupied lands throughout the twentieth century. Beginning in the 1930s, a cadre of specialists, including agronomists, engineers, geologists, biologists, and cartographers, plotted to make the Vale do Ribeira "legible."[978] James Scott introduced the concept of "legibility" to describe how state planners reconfigured frontier landscapes and populations to simplify classic state functions, including taxation, conscription, and surveillance of restive groups.[979] Land colonization, infrastructural expansion, and conservationism were central to these efforts.

In 1937, the São Paulo state government provided 50,000 hectares of land in the Lower Ribeira Valley to Japanese immigrant farmworkers to incentivize the commercial production of bananas and tea.[980] In 1958, Governor Jânio Quadros announced the creation of the Upper Ribeira Touristic State Park (PETAR) in the mountains of Apiaí and Iporanga near São Paulo's border with Paraná.[981] Government officials leased 10,500 hectares, approximately one-third of PETAR's territory, for the purposes of mineral research and exploration and constructed a "grand hotel" to attract tourism.[982] During the 1960s, the construction of highways such as BR-116 Highway, which linked São Paulo to Curitiba, and São Paulo State Road 165, which linked

[978] Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, 2.
[979] Ibid., 2-6.
[980] Sampaio and Furlan, *Government Policies, Agriculture, and Deforestation in Brazil: An Introductory Approach through Five Case Studies*, 72.
[981] Santos and Tatto, *Agenda Socioambiental De Comunidades Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 8-10.
[982] Ibid.

Eldorado to Iporanga, facilitated the deployment of government troops to defeat Carlos Lamarca's leftist guerrillas, who had established a training base in the jungles near Jacupiranga.[983] In 1969, the Brazilian military regime created the Superintendency for the Development of the Paulista Coastline (SUDELPA).[984] SUDELPA designed and streamlined development policies in the Vale do Ribeira, which centered on the commercialization of agriculture, infrastructural expansion, mining, tourism, and hydroelectricity.[985] In 1986, the Brazilian Aluminum Company (CBA) and Votorantim Corporation proposed to construct four hydroelectric dams—Tijuco Alto, Itaóca, Batatal, and Funil—along the Ribeira de Iguape River.[986]

Conservation proved central to developers' campaign to make the Vale do Ribeira legible.[987] On the surface, conservationist policies sought to protect the Atlantic Forest. Only seven percent of the original Atlantic Forest survives today, and 20 percent of those remnants are located in the Vale do Ribeira.[988] Yet environmental protection also provided the Brazilian government with the means to access valuable mineral deposits, foment ecotourism, and bring forest dwellers under the watchful eye of state surveillance.[989]

State-led conservationism in the Vale do Ribeira is epitomized by the policies and beliefs of the Forest Institute (Instituto Florestal, IF), a government agency tasked with managing São

[983] Maria Cecilia Martínez, "Ação Governamental E Resistência Camponesa No Vale Do Ribeira" (Universidade de São Paulo, 1995), 78.
[984] Resende, *As Regras Do Jogo: Legislação Florestal E Desenvolvimento Sustentável No Vale Do Ribeira*, 99.
[985] Ibid.; Adams et al., "Diversifying Incomes and Losing Landscape Complexity in Quilombola Shifting Cultivation Communities of the Atlantic Rainforest (Brazil)," 123.
[986] "Diversifying Incomes and Losing Landscape Complexity in Quilombola Shifting Cultivation Communities of the Atlantic Rainforest (Brazil)," 123.
[987] For "legibility" and "scientific forestry," see Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, 11-20.
[988] Andrade and Tatto, *Inventário Cultural De Quilombos Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 12.
[989] Resende, *As Regras Do Jogo: Legislação Florestal E Desenvolvimento Sustentável No Vale Do Ribeira*, 123.

Paulo's state parks since 1970.[990] The Forest Institute alleged that the rural poor engaged in irresponsible and harmful environmental practices.[991] In December 1985, an IF administrator called for a "consciousness raising campaign" and the establishment of rural schools to exorcise the "wrong customs" (*costumes incorretos*) of small farmers residing in the Vale do Ribeira.[992]

> Generally speaking, the backwoodsman (*homem do meio rural*) has little knowledge about the proper techniques for working the land. Even when someone approaches him with advice, he rarely takes it. There is a great need to raise the consciousness of the local people. We must teach the proper techniques and effective knowledge so that the backwoodsman might use the land more rationally and efficiently...We must demand respect for nature by raising the consciousness of the masses. If we fail, the forest will be destroyed, and future generations will be left to complete its wonders in books and stories of generation's past.[993]

The Forest Institute expressed concern about the environmental impact of slash-and-burn farming, a concern shared by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, which advised SUDELPA's development initiatives in the Vale do Ribeira.[994] Government planners fretted that small farmers would squander precious natural resources—bauxite, gold, lead, timber, hydraulic sources—thus preventing their future exploitation.[995]

Beginning in the 1950s, the Brazilian government appropriated the traditional lands of Afro-descendant farmers and fishermen for conservationist ends, a practice known as "green grabbing."[996] The principal driver of green grabbing in the Vale do Ribeira was the establishment

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[990] Ibid., 78-81.
[991] For elites' demonization of the environmental practices of the rural poor, see Karl Jacoby, *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 15; Thomas Klubock, "The Nature of the Frontier: Forests and Peasant Uprisings in Southern Chile," *Social History* 36, no. 2 (2011).
[992] Divisão de Reservas e Parques Estaduais Instituto Florestal, "Projeto: Plano Conceitual De Manejo Para O Parque Estadual Turístico Alto Ribeiro," (Instituto Socioambiental 1985), 20.
[993] Ibid.
[994] Ans Kolk, *Forests in International Environmental Politics: International Organisations, Ngos, and the Brazilian Amazon* (Utricht International Books, 1996), 64-65. For SUDELPA's anxieties about agriculture and deforestation in the Vale do Ribeira, see Filho, "Impacto Do Sistema Agrícola Itinerante Sobre Os Solos De Remanescente De Mata Atlântica Com Uso E Ocupação Por Comunidades Quilombolas No Vale Do Ribeira, São Paulo, Brasil," 695.
[995] Instituto Florestal, "Projeto: Plano Conceitual De Manejo Para O Parque Estadual Turístico Alto Ribeiro," 3-4.
[996] Fairhead, Leach, and Scoones, "Green Grabbing: A New Appropriation of Nature?," 237.

of state parks and environmental protection areas (areas de proteção ambiental, APAs).[997] These parks include the Upper Ribeira Valley Touristic State Park (PETAR, 35,712 ha, 1958), Ilha do Cardoso State Park (PEIC, 13,500 ha, 1962), Jacupiranga State Park (PEJ, 150,000 ha, 1969), the Serra do Mar Environmental Protection Area (APA-SM, 315,000 ha, 1977), and Intervales State Park (PEI, 49,000 ha, 1995).[998] In addition to promoting scientific research and protecting Atlantic Forest remnants, state parks and APA's enabled the Brazilian government to claim dominion over precious minerals, waterways, forests, and other natural resources.[999] By 1980, the state government of São Paulo had designated 60 percent of the Ribeira Valley's forests as protected areas.[1000] The Forest Police (Polícia Florestal), assisted by military helicopters, enforced environmental restrictions on farming, hunting, extraction, and the use of fire.[1001] The expansion of state parks and enactment of legislation regulating the use of forest resources generated conflicts between rural black communities and environmental agencies in the Vale do Ribeira.

Green-grabbing led to the material and symbolic displacement of maroon descendants from ancestral lands, a phenomenon that geographer Ulrich Oslender has termed "de-territorialization, processes that manifest themselves in physical changes to the landscape.[1002] In 2012, ecologist Cristina Adams and her colleagues at the Universidade de São Paulo (USP) collected oral histories of and compared aerial photographs of ten quilombo communities in the

[997] Resende, *As Regras Do Jogo: Legislação Florestal E Desenvolvimento Sustentável No Vale Do Ribeira*, 116.
[998] Ibid., 81.
[999] Under the Brazilian Mining Code of 1934, the Brazilian government established ownership of subsurface minerals. See ibid., 75-76.
[1000] Ibid., 127.
[1001] Ibid., 81.
[1002] Oslender, "The Logic of the River: A Spatial Approach to Ethnic-Territorial Mobilization in the Colombian Pacific Region," 83.

Vale do Ribeira from two distinct periods: 1962 and 2000.[1003] Their research confirmed that land colonization and the creation of state parks had forced the descendants of quilombos to abandon traditional *moradias* (family dwellings) and relocate to villages where access to electricity and public transport to Eldorado and Iporanga was available.[1004] Further, environmental surveillance compelled farmers to abandon *capuovas* (communal farmland), which curbed the size of *roças* from approximately 2.0 to 0.5 hectares and reduced the fallow length between harvest, from approximately 10-25 years to 0-6 years.[1005] The impact of green grabbing upon quilombolas' traditional lands and livelihoods was devastating.

Without access to roças, many farmers resorted to the illegal extraction of peach palms (*pupunha juçara*) for income.[1006] Environmentalist legislation restricting subsistence farming, such as the Atlantic Forest Decree of 1993, Federal Decree 28.848/1988, and São Paulo State Resolution 27/2010, contributed to malnutrition by increasing the dependence of poor communities on local markets for food.[1007] Such restrictions dramatically reduced food security and agro-biodiversity in one of the planet's most fragile tropical ecosystems.[1008] Since 1950, the descendants of quilombos in the Vale do Ribeira have lost 52% of local varieties of cassava, beans, maize, rice, corn, sweet potatoes, and other cultivars.[1009] Vandir Rodrigues da Silva, a farmer from Quilombo Ivaporunduva, elaborated the plight of farmers in his community in a short film produced by the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA) in 2016.

> Peach palms became a plague. That was what we planted to make money, to earn a living. Of course, now you can find peach palms everywhere in the valley. So

[1003] Adams et al., "Diversifying Incomes and Losing Landscape Complexity in Quilombola Shifting Cultivation Communities of the Atlantic Rainforest (Brazil)," 127. The ten quilombo communities were Maria Rosa, Pilões, Galvão, São Pedro, Ivaporunduva, Pedro Cubas, Pedro Cubas de Cima, Sapatu, André Lopes, and Nhunguara.
[1004] Ibid.
[1005] Ibid.
[1006] Ibid., 127-28.
[1007] Ibid.
[1008] Ibid.
[1009] Ibid., 130.

> what don't we have anymore? We don't have our organic, traditional beans. We don't have our traditional rice, cassava, chayote, coco yams, potatoes, thorn yams, the *guaçu* yam…So now's the time to stop planting bananas and return to our traditions.[1010]

De-territorialization also occurs when rural populations feel restricted in their everyday movements within traditional spaces.[1011] Quilombolas have risked fines for planting roças in secondary forests. Esperança Santana Ramos of Quilombo Sapatu recalled in 2015, "People were afraid to plant their roças. I am still afraid to plant my roças. I was one of the people who had to pay the *multas* (fines). I wasn't the only one, either. There was a group of women, too. All of those women who had children at home, who needed to plant their gardens so that their babies could eat."[1012]

In 1996, Maria Elena Nascimento, a farmer from Quilombo Galvão, protested the creation of the Intervales State Park at a town hall meeting in Eldorado.[1013] She claimed that restrictions on subsistence farming had forced her neighbors to abandon their ancestral plots. Nascimento explained:

> We need the land to work, to cultivate…It doesn't mean a damn thing to have title [to our land] if we can't plant on our land. We wish that the *meio ambiento* [forest rangers] would leave us alone so we can work in order to live. I want to know what they [local authorities] want us to do here, exactly. Wander around God's earth with nothing to do? Where do they want us to die? Under a bridge? In the favelas?[1014]

Quilombolas that chose to remain in their communities have fought back against the forces of de-territorialization in the Vale do Ribeira.

2. The Historical Roots of the Environmentalism of the Poor in Brazil (1911-1988)

[1010] Socioambiental, "Sementes De Quilombos."
[1011] Oslender, "The Logic of the River: A Spatial Approach to Ethnic-Territorial Mobilization in the Colombian Pacific Region," 97.
[1012] Socioambiental, "Sistema Agrícola Quilombola."
[1013] *Audiência Pública Em Eldorado*.
[1014] Ibid., 35.

Maroon descendants resisted the imposition of development models based on green grabbing, land colonization, and mining in the Vale do Ribeira. Beginning in the late 1980s, they enlisted the support of new allies—the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA) and the Movement of Peoples Threatened by Dams (MOAB)—who reframed the historical grievances of the black peasantry in a language of socio-environmentalism, ethnodevelopment, and constitutional rights. Against the juggernaut of state-sponsored development, quilombola activists and their supporters have proposed an alternative path to development based on the sustainable use of land and Atlantic Forest resources; the inclusion of rivers, waterfalls, forests, and mangroves in collective land titles; and respect for "traditional" knowledge and spatial practices.[1015] To trace the advent of maroon environmental activism in the Vale do Ribeira, we must first consider the historical roots of conservationism and the "environmentalism of the poor" in Brazil.

Conservationist ideas in Brazil originated in the colonial period.[1016] In 1797, a Portuguese royal decree denounced the destruction of the Atlantic Forest and demanded "the undertaking of all necessary precautions" to ensure its preservation.[1017] José de Bonifacio, chief adviser to Pedro I, proposed the creation of administrative bodies to regulate the use of *"matas*" (woodlands) and *"bosques*" (forests) in 1821.[1018] During the 1860s, the municipal government of Rio de Janeiro established control of spring waters to defend the city's water supply against drought and

[1015] Andrade and Tatto, *Inventário Cultural De Quilombos Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 9-11.
[1016] Dean, *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest*, 209-11; Bim, "Mosaico De Jacuprianga, Vale Do Ribeira, São Paulo: Conservação, Conflitos, E Soluções Socioambientais," 52; Resende, *As Regras Do Jogo: Legislação Florestal E Desenvolvimento Sustentável No Vale Do Ribeira*, 72; Patricia Côrtes Costa, *Unidades De Conservação: Matéria Prima Do Ecoturismo* (São Paulo: Aleph, 2002), 18-20; A.T.B. Quintão, *Evolução Do Conceito De Parques Nacionais E Sua Relação Com O Processo De Desenvolvimento* (São Paulo: Brasil Florestal, 1983), 19; Shawn William Miller, *Fruitless Trees: Portuguese Conservation and Brazil's Colonial Timber* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); José Augusto Pádua, *Um Sopro De Destruição: Pensamento Político E Crítica Ambiental No Brasil Escravista, 1786-1888* (São Paulo: Jorge Zahar Editor, 2002).
[1017] Quintão, *Evolução Do Conceito De Parques Nacionais E Sua Relação Com O Processo De Desenvolvimento*, 19; Dean, *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest*, 161.
[1018] Bim, "Mosaico De Jacuprianga, Vale Do Ribeira, São Paulo: Conservação, Conflitos, E Soluções Socioambientais," 53.

inaugurated the Tijuca Forest Park and the Palmeiras Forest Park.[1019] Yet the scope and scale of government-sponsored conservationism and environmental management in Brazil expanded significantly during the twentieth century.

São Paulo state was a pioneer of environmental protection in Brazil. In 1911, the state government established the Forest Service (Serviço Florestal), a bureaucracy committed to the preservation, research, and replenishment of São Paulo's dwindling forests.[1020] The Forest Service originated from the São Paulo-based "Greenhouse Movement" (*"hortos florestais*"), a coalition of botanists, naturalists, and urban philanthropists that sought to preserve the city's wellsprings located near the Serra da Cantareira and foment re-forestation through the creation of arboreal parks throughout the metropolis.[1021] Following Getúlio Vargas rise to power 1930, the Brazilian government attempted to replicate São Paulo's model of environmental management at the federal level.[1022]

Under Vargas, the Brazilian government heralded environmental management as a pathway to national development.[1023] In addition to claiming federal dominion over subsurface minerals to fuel industrial growth, the Vargas regime attempted to exert government control of Brazilian forests.[1024] The Constitution of 1934 charged the federal government and states with the protection of "natural beauties and monuments of historical or artistic value," a reflection of Vargas's desire to create a robust (and later authoritarian) central government.[1025] In 1934, the

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[1019] Ibid.
[1020] Resende, *As Regras Do Jogo: Legislação Florestal E Desenvolvimento Sustentável No Vale Do Ribeira*, 79. In 1970, the Serviço Florestal was renamed the Instituto Florestal (IF). The Serviço Florestal became a federal bureaucracy in 1921.
[1021] Ibid., 73; Dean, *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest*, 250-58.
[1022] Bim, "Mosaico De Jacuprianga, Vale Do Ribeira, São Paulo: Conservação, Conflitos, E Soluções Socioambientais," 53.
[1023] Resende, *As Regras Do Jogo: Legislação Florestal E Desenvolvimento Sustentável No Vale Do Ribeira*, 75.
[1024] Ibid.
[1025] Dean, *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest*, 260.

Vargas government promulgated the nation's first Forest Code (Código Florestal), which imposed regulations on tree felling on private properties and banned the use of fire for agriculture on private and public lands.[1026]

Further, the Estado Novo oversaw the creation of Brazil's first state parks. In 1937, the regime announced the creation of Itatiaia National Park in the Mantiqueira Mountains between the states of Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.[1027] That same year, the Brazilian government founded the Serra dos Orgãos National Park in the mountains north of Rio de Janeiro and established a national park in Iguaçu, a rainforest surrounding Iguaçu Falls in the southeastern state of Paraná.[1028] A new government agency, the Forest Service, oversaw management of state parks and the Forest Police (Polícia Florestal) began enforcing park rules in 1949.[1029]

Yet sustained, institutionalized and popular support for environmental protection did not take hold in Brazil until the 1970s.[1030] At the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, the Brazilian military regime drew fierce condemnation from conservationists for its aggressive development policies that contributed to deforestation in the Amazon Rainforest.[1031] The military responded by creating the Special Secretariat of the Environment (SEMA) in 1973, a federal agency linked to the Ministry of Interior tasked with promoting conservation of the environment, rational use of natural resources, and establishing national standards regulating air pollution.[1032]

[1026] Ibid., 261. See also, José Luiz de Andrade and José Augusto Drummond, *Proteção À Natureza E Identidade Nacional No Brasil, Anos 1920-1940* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fiocruz, 2009).
[1027] Dean, *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest*, 261.
[1028] Ibid.
[1029] Resende, *As Regras Do Jogo: Legislação Florestal E Desenvolvimento Sustentável No Vale Do Ribeira*, 80.
[1030] Hochstetler and Keck, *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*, 27.
[1031] Ibid., 6-7; Kolk, *Forests in International Environmental Politics: International Organisations, Ngos, and the Brazilian Amazon*, 18-19.
[1032] Viola, "O Movimento Ecológico No Brasil," 85.

Under the leadership of environmental secretary Paulo Nogueira Neto, a biologist, lawyer, and scion of a powerful political family from São Paulo, SEMA introduced policies to reduce urban pollution and established ecological stations (*estações ecológicas*) on the fringes of existing state parks to halt deforestation.[1033] In 1981, Nogueira successfully lobbied for the creation of the National System for the Environment (SISNAMA), which established the first institutional framework through which environmental protection could be addressed holistically, from federal to local levels and across various government agencies.[1034] However, SEMA and SISNAMA struggled to defend their conservationist agenda from the regime's development policies. During the 1970s, the military regime undertook an extensive program of road construction in the Amazon, culminating with the construction of the Trans-Amazon Highway.[1035] Roads facilitated rural colonization and large investments in mega projects, such as the Tucuruí Dam and the Carajás mining project in southern Pará.[1036]

Scientists and sectors of the middle class, however, decried the environmental destruction wrought by the so-called "Brazilian Miracle" during the 1970s.[1037] President-General Ernesto Geisel's calls for *distensão* (relaxation) and *abertura* (opening) in 1974 provided political cover for the mobilization of opposition politics and environmental activism. The Gaúcho Association for the Protection of the Natural Environment (AGAPAN) formed in Porto Alegre in 1971 in the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul.[1038] AGAPAN mounted a successful campaign to reduce emissions from the Borregaard cellulose plant across the Guaíba River from Porto Alegre in

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[1033] Hochstetler and Keck, *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*, 29-30.
[1034] Ibid., 34.
[1035] Davis, *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil*, 41; Hochstetler and Keck, *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*, 144-45.
[1036] *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*, 144-45.
[1037] Ibid., 71; Garfield, *In Search of the Amazon: Brazil, the United States, and the Nature of a Region*, 217; Davis, *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil*; Viola, "O Movimento Ecológico No Brasil," 80; Alier, *The Environmentalism of the Poor: A Study of Ecological Conflicts and Valuation*, 122-23.
[1038] Hochstetler and Keck, *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*, 73.

1972.[1039] Under the leadership of José Lutzenberg, an agronomist and future secretary of SEMA, AGAPAN achieved national prominence by protesting nuclear power plants, deforestation in the Amazon, and use of agricultural chemicals and pesticides in the countryside.[1040] Other environmentalist movements, many concentrated in southern and southeastern Brazil, followed in AGAPAN's footsteps.[1041]

In 1976, journalists, artists, and leftist intellectuals joined conservationists to form the São Paulo Association for the Protection of Nature (APPN).[1042] APPN mobilized grassroots opposition to the proposed construction of a new airport bordering Caucaia, a state forest reserve protecting Atlantic Forest remnants on the Atlantic Plateau.[1043] APPN organized a grassroots campaign that included the participation of the Catholic Archdiocese of São Paulo and the famed landscape architect Burle Marx that helped to defeat the airport proposal in the state legislature. The victory planted the seeds for future political organizing around green issues on the eve of democratization and the formation of the Green Party in 1987.[1044]

The decade of the 1980s signaled a historical watershed in the popularization and proliferation of environmental activism in Brazil.[1045] Eduardo Viola suggests a confluence of factors that contributed to the growth of environmental politics in Brazil during the 1980s: the rapid increase in urban pollution and environmental degradation that sensitized sectors of Brazil's middle class; the political reintegration of the Brazilian left following the democratic opening by the military; the formation of new social movements; and Brazil's standing as a developing nation with strong ties to the international market and media amidst the worldwide

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[1039] Ibid., 74.
[1040] Viola, "O Movimento Ecológico No Brasil," 88.
[1041] Ibid.
[1042] Hochstetler and Keck, *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*, 76.
[1043] Ibid., 77.
[1044] Ibid., 89.
[1045] Viola, "O Movimento Ecológico No Brasil," 108.

proliferation of the ecological movement.[1046] The 1980s further witnessed the expansion of environmental NGOs in Brazil, including the Center for Indigenist Documentation (CEDI) and SOS Mata Atlântica, that fostered close ties with foreign diplomats and philanthropic organizations and established alliances with grassroots activists residing in the countryside.[1047] Domestic and international outcry concerning deforestation and environmental degradation in Amazonia facilitated environmental activism on an unprecedented scale.[1048]

Throughout the 1980s, environmentalists and conservation biologists called international attention to the ecological destruction caused by agro-industry, highway construction, hydroelectric dams, logging, and mining in the Amazon Rainforest. In 1975, less than 7 million acres of land in the Brazilian Amazon had been altered from its original forest cover.[1049] By 1988, more than 40 million acres of rainforest had been destroyed.[1050] A 1988 report published by the Brazilian National Space Research Institute (INPE) revealed the loss of 8 million hectares of the Brazilian Amazon Rainforest in 1987 alone.[1051] In September 1986, scientists and policymakers convened in Washington D.C. for the National Forum on BioDiversity.[1052] Conference organizers introduced the term "biodiversity," which refers to the number and variety species in a given area.[1053] The urgency to protect biodiversity in tropical rainforests reframed conservationist policies and environmental activism worldwide.[1054] In a political

[1046] Ibid.
[1047] Hochstetler and Keck, *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*, 105.
[1048] Kolk, *Forests in International Environmental Politics: International Organisations, Ngos, and the Brazilian Amazon*, 18-19.
[1049] Hecht and Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers, and Defenders in the Amazon*, 54.
[1050] Ibid.
[1051] Kolk, *Forests in International Environmental Politics: International Organisations, Ngos, and the Brazilian Amazon*, 77.
[1052] Megan Raby, *American Tropics: The Caribbean Roots of Biodiversity Science* (Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press 2017), 1.
[1053] Ibid.
[1054] Ibid., 4.

climate hostile to the cause of agrarian reform, rural populations besieged by agro-industry and mega projects in Amazonia pledged to defend biodiversity to enlist new allies and advance their territorial claims. Yet the conservationist model that appealed to scientists and wealthy foreigners, one that preserved wilderness, was anathema to rural populations dependent on forest resources.

Rural populations displaced by the Brazilian government's development policies, therefore, sought to wed historical struggles for land, resources, and social justice to ecological concerns.[1055] Activists such as Chico Mendes and his Forest Peoples' Alliance—a coalition of rubber tappers (*seringueiros*), conservationists, and landless workers in the Amazonian state of Acre—argued that so-called "traditional peoples" should be empowered as "guardians" of the tropical ecosystems in which they have lived for centuries.[1056] "Traditional peoples" is a term that describes rural populations—indigenous communities, seringueiros, *caiçaras* (mixed-race fishermen and agriculturalists), *ribeirinhos* (riverside dwellers), and quilombolas—that depend on forest ecosystems for their survival and share a direct stake in their protection.[1057] During the 1980s, seringueiro activists popularized the tenets of what is known as "socio-environmentalism" or the "environmentalism of the poor" in Brazil, currents of environmentalism that consider the perceptions and valuations of nature among subaltern social groups and decry the unequal burden of ecological destruction imposed on poor and marginalized communities.[1058]

[1055] Cunha and Almeida, "Indigenous People, Traditional People, and Conservation in the Amazon," 321.
[1056] Hecht and Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers, and Defenders in the Amazon*, 208-09; Chico Mendes, *Fight for the Forest: Chico Mendes in His Own Words* (Rio de Janeiro: Latin American Bureau, 1989).
[1057] Allegretti, "Extractive Reserves: An Alternative for Reconciling Development and Environmental Conservation in Amazonia," 95.
[1058] Tatto, "Interview with Nilto Tatto."; Garfield, *In Search of the Amazon: Brazil, the United States, and the Nature of a Region*, 223. For a definition of the "environmentalism of the poor," see Guha and Alier, *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South*, 12-13.

Proponents of socio-environmentalism have advocated for models of "sustainable development" that recognized the "traditional knowledge" of forest peoples.[1059] Seringueiros and their supporters, which included the Liberationist Catholic Church, the São Paulo-based socio-environmentalist NGO, CEDI (later called ISA), as well as intergovernmental organizations ranging from the World Bank to the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), lobbied for the promotion of rubber extractors as "collaborative managers" of state parks and conservation units (*unidades de conservação*) and the creation of extractive reserves on federal lands.[1060] They upheld what has come to be known as "ethnodevelopment": development based on the adaptive traditions of indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples.[1061]

3. Ethnodevelopment and Maroon Environmentalism in the Vale do Ribeira (1991-2018)

Two Brazilian NGOs have assisted quilombo descendants in the Ribeira Valley to reframe their historical grievances in a language of ethnodevelopment and socio-environmentalism: The Movement of Peoples Threatened by Dams (MOAB) and the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA). As explored in Chapter Five, Maria Sueli Berlanga and Ângela Biagioni, Sisters of Jesus the Good Shepherd nuns, founded MOAB in 1991 in Eldorado to oppose the Brazilian government's plans to construct four hydroelectric dams along the Ribeira de Iguape River. MOAB provided critical legal, moral, and social assistance to besieged Afro-descendant communities, who invoked Article 68 to block construction of the dams and advance their

[1059] Hecht and Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers, and Defenders in the Amazon*, 208-09; Tatto, "Interview with Nilto Tatto."; Engel, *The Elusive Promise of Indigenous Development: Rights, Culture, Strategy*, 190.
[1060] Garfield, *In Search of the Amazon: Brazil, the United States, and the Nature of a Region*, 223.
[1061] Engel, *The Elusive Promise of Indigenous Development: Rights, Culture, Strategy*, 183. Escobar, *Territories of Difference: Place, Movement, Life, Redes*; Oslender, *The Geographies of Social Movements*.

historical claims to ancestral lands. MOAB has long framed its advocacy for rural black communities in environmentalist terms.[1062]

MOAB responded to an emerging current in Liberation Theology that expressed grave concerns about environmental degradation and its disproportionate impact on the poor during the 1990s.[1063] Among these influential voices was Leonardo Boff, an ex-Franciscan friar whose jeremiad against environmental destruction in Amazonia, *Grito da Terra, Grito dos Pobres* ("Cry of the Earth, Cry of the Poor," 1995), decried "the reduction of all life on earth to an assortment of natural resources and a chemical reservoir of raw materials."[1064] Boff joined traditional peoples' activists in blaming capitalist development policies for social misery and the plundering of the natural environment.

> The real causes of poverty and environmental deterioration are not being examined. They are the result of precisely the kind of development being practiced, one that is highly concentrating and that exploits people and nature's resources…Persons have been reified as human resources or human capital, constituting the great reserve army at the disposition of the owners of the means of production. The Earth and the cosmic community are no longer heard in their myriad voices and tongues…The worst has happened: human beings have become separated from the cosmic community and have forgotten the web of interdependence and the synergy of all the cosmic elements that enabled them to emerge in the cosmic process.[1065]

Boff condemned the Belém-Brasília Highway, the Grande Carajás mining project, and the clearing of rainforests for pasture in the Baixada Ocidental Maranhense as "capital sins."[1066] "Nothing is more hostile to ecology than this fissure in universal solidarity and the denial of the covenant whose rainbow extends over all, not just some," he argued in 1995.[1067] "Our ecological

[1062] Berlanga, "Interview with Maria Sueli Berlanga."
[1063] Leonardo Boff, *Cry of the Earth, Cry of the Poor* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1997), 111.
[1064] Ibid., 12.
[1065] Ibid., 66-69.
[1066] Ibid., 86.
[1067] Ibid., 80.

impasse is the ongoing *disruption* of the basic connectedness with the whole of the universe and with its Creator that the human being has introduced, fueled, and perpetuated."[1068] Quilombolas affiliated with MOAB employed similar rhetoric to protest mega projects and green grabbing in the Vale do Ribeira.

Since MOAB's inception in 1991, members have denounced capitalist development as an "ecological sin" that endangers not only the livelihoods of small farmers, but also the source of biological life in the region: the Atlantic Forest. The organization's manifesto declared in 1991, "We are against the dams because they will destroy our forests, animals, fish, and all the natural abundance that we [quilombolas] have always known how to preserve."[1069] MOAB's rank and file—quilombolas, small farmers, landless workers, and pastoral agents—decried the hypocrisy of government planners, who expressed concern for conservation yet also supported a plan to construct dams that would flood 30,000 acres of protected rainforest. Activists protested, "We are constantly coerced, persecuted, and humiliated by forest rangers when we clear vegetation for farming. And yet this is the same government that proposes to destroy thousands of hectares of the forest all at once!"[1070]

MOAB espoused a "preferential option" for the poor farmer. "Of course, it is necessary to preserve the forest," the manifesto's draftees wrote in 1991. "But it is also necessary to guarantee the survival of mankind, the *pequeno agricultor* (small farmer), who has always known how to provide and preserve natural resources."[1071] Manoel Marinho, a farmer from Quilombo São Pedro, expressed this sentiment at a town hall meeting in Eldorado in 1996.

> Our communities no longer have authority to cultivate the land to feed our families. All that is left for us to do is to leave [the Vale do Ribeira] for the city,

[1068] Ibid.
[1069] (MOAB), "Manifesto Do Moab."
[1070] Ibid.
[1071] Ibid.

> where there are no jobs, training, nothing. And for what? All we're asking for is that we can do something with our land, to produce enough food to feed our families every day, so that an old mine like me, 69 years of age, who was born here and raised a family here, can survive.[1072]

José Paulo Rodrigues, a farmer from Quilombo Nhunguara, echoed Marinho's demands. "It is true, we are worried about the environment. But on the other hand, we need to cultivate the land a little bit to guarantee our subsistence."[1073]

The Instituto Socioambiental has also assisted maroon descendants to reframe their activism in socio-environmentalist terms. ISA's founders—Márcio Santilli, José Capobianco, and Nilto Tatto—were members of the Ecumenical Center for Indigenist Documentation (CEDI), an anthropological research and advocacy network linked to Liberationist Protestant and Catholic faith communities in São Paulo that lobbied for indigenous territorial rights at the 1987-1988 Constituent Assembly.[1074] CEDI participated in the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro (*Eco-92*) that produced international agreements such as the Convention on Biological Diversity, which recognized the role of "traditional knowledge" in conservation and urged developing nations to cooperate with traditional peoples in promoting sustainable development initiatives.[1075] In 1994, CEDI activists founded ISA in São Paulo city and established satellite offices in Brasília, Mato Grosso, Pará, Amazonas, and Roraima.[1076] Nilto Tatto, former director of ISA-Eldorado and current member of Brazil's Chamber of Deputies (PT-SP), recalled ISA's founding in a 2015 oral history:

[1072] *Audiência Pública Em Eldorado*, 18.
[1073] Ibid., 28.
[1074] Tatto, "Interview with Nilto Tatto."; Raquel Pasinato, interview by Edward Shore, March 9, 2015, Eldorado; Hochstetler and Keck, *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*, 104.
[1075] Marcelo Gustavo Aguilar Calegare, "Traditional Peoples and Communities: From Protected Areas to the Political Visibility of Social Groups Possessing Ethnic and Collective Identity," *Ambiente & Sociedade* 17, no. 3 (2014): 116-18; Edna Castro, "Território, Biodiversidade E Saberes De Populações Tradicionais," in *Etnoconservação: Novos Rumos Para a Conservação Da Natureza*, ed. Antônio Carlos Diegues (São Paulo: NUPAUB, 2000), 166.
[1076] Tatto, "Interview with Nilto Tatto."

> In 1994, we created the Instituto Socioambiental. There was a theologian and professor, a Protestant who worked with CEDI. He told us that the correct way to spell our name was to merge "society" (*sociedade*) and "environment" (*ambiente*) into a single word: *socioambiental*.[1077] This became our slogan: *'socioambiental se escreve junto!'* Not only was this (grammatically) correct, but we also believed it wasn't right to think about environmental rights as separate from social rights.[1078]

In 1996, ISA opened a field office in the Vale do Ribeira in the town of Eldorado. The organization has since supported the grassroots opposition of rural black communities to green grabbing in the Atlantic Forest.[1079]

Since 2013, ISA's goal has been to secure the Brazilian government's recognition of quilombola roças as "intangible cultural patrimony" to lift environmental restrictions on subsistence farming in secondary forests.[1080] In 2006, the Brazilian government ratified the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Patrimony, which obliges signatory nations to procure funds and enact public policies to defend the cultural expressions of "historically underrepresented groups."[1081] Anthropologists have since identified more than 500 "material and immaterial cultural goods" in five different categories: celebrations, forms of expression, crafts and ways of knowing, places, and buildings.[1082] In 2016, quilombolas and ISA compiled a dossier, the *Sistema Agrícola Quilombola* (The Quilombola Agricultural System), which gathered oral histories and scholarly research to highlight the importance of roças for subsistence, income, and the maintenance of quilombola identity.[1083] These voices illuminate

[1077] Ibid.
[1078] Ibid.
[1079] Andrade and Tatto, *Inventário Cultural De Quilombos Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 9.
[1080] Pasinato, "Interview with Raquel Pasinato."
[1081] Andrade and Tatto, *Inventário Cultural De Quilombos Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 16.
[1082] Ibid., 24-25.
[1083] Socioambiental, "Sistema Agrícola Quilombola Do Vale Do Ribeira Pode Se Tornar Patrimônio Cultural Brasileiro".

how maroon descendants have asserted an autonomy that is bound with past and present socio-spatial struggles.

A quest for "counter-space" informs quilombola activism in the Vale do Ribeira.[1084] French sociologist Henri Lefebvre defined counter-space as a "utopian alternative to an already existing 'real space'" that emerges as a result of political struggle.[1085] Against the juggernaut of state-sponsored development, rural Afro-Brazilians have portrayed the Atlantic Forest as a commons to be enjoyed by all, rather than a private park to be exploited by the few.[1086] Their argument is fundamentally theological. Drawing from the Bible, activists claim that God created that God created nature for the purpose of mankind's subsistence.[1087]

In August 2016, Francisco Meira, a farmer from Quilombo Barra do Turvo, spoke at a rally in Eldorado, "Genesis tells us that God created the earth. He told His children to take care of his garden. He told them, 'All you need can be found here: oxygen to breathe, water to drink, and soil to plant.'"[1088] Meira explained that God created human beings so that they would become "gardeners" who expressed devotion to the Lord by cultivating the earth, a view shared by his neighbors. "All of this was created by God's hands," said Sônia da Costa, a farmer from Quilombo Pedro Cubas de Cima.[1089] "The forest is here for all to use and all to defend."

Quilombola activists have defended their lands and livelihoods by emphasizing their conservationist credentials. Inspired by the activism of rubber tappers in the Amazon, the descendants of quilombos in the Vale do Ribeira have strategically underscored their "primordial

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[1084] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 349; Oslender, *The Geographies of Social Movements*, 26.
[1085]
[1086] Jacoby, *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation*, 32-34.
[1087] Genesis 1:26-31.
[1088] Quoted from ISA-sponsored rally in Eldorado on the eve of *IX Feira de Troca de Sementes Tradicionais Quilombolas*, on August 19, 2016. I have used pseudonyms to protect the identities of quilombolas who spoke at the rally.
[1089] Ibid.

commitment" to environmental stewardship, a cultural trait they claim to have inherited from their African ancestors.[1090] Wilson Pereira, a farmer from Quilombo Nhunguara, explained, "We *negros,* the descendants of slaves, do not act against the environment. It is from nature that we gather everything we need to survive. Nature means everything to *negros* and *índios*. Yet no one talks about [protecting] human life in the rainforest. Because of our black culture, we know what life is and how to collect daily bread in the heart of the forest."[1091]

Quilombola farmers have proposed a trade-off.[1092] In return for control of their territory, they have committed themselves to providing environmental services.[1093] Maroon-descendant farmers have emphasized their mastery of low-impact, organic practices. Benedito "Ditão" Alves da Silva, a farmer and activist from Quilombo Ivaporunduva, affirmed that members of his community have never used synthetic fertilizers or pesticides.

> If you come to the forest with a hoe for digging, you will notice that there are twenty centimeters of organic fertilizer already on the ground, you see? That [organic fertilizer] comes from the fallen leaves and creates a layer. All the trees that are beginning to die collapse and leave behind all of this here. The branches that fell down already rotted and became fertilizer, you see?[1094]

Antônio Benedito Jorge of Quilombo Pedro Cubas related how he has recycled the garden plots of his ancestors. "This garden here is more than thirty years old. It belonged to my grandfather and my uncles. I'm still planting cassava, beans, and corn here. You can plant on the same plot for two years before abandoning it. Sometimes we come back [to the same plot] after everything has grown back and use it all over again."[1095]

[1090] Cunha and Almeida, "Indigenous People, Traditional People, and Conservation in the Amazon," 316.
[1091] *Audiência Pública Em Eldorado*, 17.
[1092] "Indigenous People, Traditional People, and Conservation in the Amazon," 317.
[1093] Ibid.; Diegues, *Etnoconservação: Novos Rumos Para a Conservação Da Natureza*, 144.
[1094] Socioambiental, "Sistema Agrícola Quilombola."
[1095] Ibid.

Farmers have defended slash and burn farming against the notion that shifting cultivation practices contribute to deforestation and endanger vulnerable species of plants and animals.[1096] Aurico Dias of Quilombo São Pedro explained that he draws fire break lines to prevent the burning of primary forests. "We're always careful. We always make sure that when we plant our roças, that we draw a fire break line so that we don't burn what's on the other side. We've always been careful."[1097] Edivina Maria Braz da Silva of Quilombo Pedro Cubas de Cima explained that ash produced by burning brush have attracted animals such as foxes, tapirs, deer, and pumas to her roça.

> Every year, the anteaters come to eat up all the yams, grapes, other fruits. The fox will eat them too, you see. Tapirs love to eat the fruit, especially the bananas. After we burn the fields, a lot of deer come through. They come to lick up the ash. The odor of the burned wood actually attracts them. The wild dogs, the wolves, they eat all the sugar cane that's left too. The armadillos and the anteaters feed on the trunks. All that has started to rot, becomes their food.[1098]

Ditão Alves da Silva of Ivaporunduva added, "I remember my father, when he used to plant corn, he would set aside a part of his garden for the animals to eat. He said to me, 'If you don't leave a section of the harvest for the animals to eat, you won't have a good harvest.' So now I always leave a part of the garden for the animals."[1099]

Quilombolas have drawn contrasts between their ethical use of forest resources and the destructive practices of the Vale do Ribeira's "true polluters." "We are massacred by the *meio ambiente* (forest rangers) while the fazendeiros (ranchers) control the land and the *capitalistas* destroy the forest," Nicolás Moreira of Quilombo São Pedro testified at a town hall meeting in

[1096] For studies on the environmental impact of the use of fire in traditional quilombola agricultural systems, see Filho, "Impacto Do Sistema Agrícola Itinerante Sobre Os Solos De Remanescente De Mata Atlântica Com Uso E Ocupação Por Comunidades Quilombolas No Vale Do Ribeira, São Paulo, Brasil."
[1097] Socioambiental, "Sistema Agrícola Quilombola."
[1098] Ibid.
[1099] Ibid.

Eldorado in 1996.[1100] "The little guy can't do anything."[1101] Isaías Nascimento of Quilombo Galvão affirmed, "It should be clear to all, the people who have lived here for hundreds of years, are not the *desmatadores* (deforesters). If we were really the degraders (*desgradadores*), you would not find this rainforest that stretches from São Paulo all the way to Paraná."[1102]

Assertions such as these belie the fact that rural black communities in the Vale do Ribeira and throughout Brazil have historically mixed subsistence practices with commercial activities.[1103] For instance, the descendants of quilombos in the Vale do Ribeira have long participated in the trade of peach palms, a practice that conservationists have long sought to eradicate because the extraction of the fruit necessitates the felling of endangered palm trees.[1104] Nonetheless, quilombola activists maintain that deforestation caused by the extraction of palm hearts pales in comparison to the ecological devastation wrought by mining, cattle ranching, and hydroelectric projects in the Atlantic Forest. They decry how the poor and marginalized too often bear the brunt of environmental surveillance while large landowners and mining companies skirt penalties for flouting Brazil's environmental protection laws. This injustice fits a larger historical pattern in which sectors of the elite, especially agribusiness, have demonized rural black communities for their subsistence activities and traditional practices of land management.

Benedita Marinho of Quilombo Ivaporunduva captured this sentiment in 1996. "The government has forgotten that we, black, descendants of slaves, were the ones who were

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[1100] *Audiência Pública Em Eldorado*, 14.
[1101] Ibid.
[1102] Ibid., 12-13.
[1103] Cunha and Almeida, "Indigenous People, Traditional People, and Conservation in the Amazon," 325. See also, Adams et al., "Diversifying Incomes and Losing Landscape Complexity in Quilombola Shifting Cultivation Communities of the Atlantic Rainforest (Brazil)."; Santos and Tatto, *Agenda Socioambiental De Comunidades Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira*; Stucchi et al., "Comunidades Negras De Ivaporunduva, São Pedro, Pedro Cubas, Sapatu, Nhunguara, André Lopes, Maria Rosa E Pilões."
[1104] Adams et al., "Diversifying Incomes and Losing Landscape Complexity in Quilombola Shifting Cultivation Communities of the Atlantic Rainforest (Brazil)," 125.

massacred while building Brazil. This great São Paulo was built by black people, by slaves. Today, to survive, we have to hide in the woods like game animals, never to be seen. Abolition, the Golden Law, they didn't change a thing. We just became slaves of a different kind."[1105]

Quilombola activists have linked their contemporary battles for territorial autonomy to their ancestors' struggle for freedom. As this dissertation has argued, fugitive slaves understood liberty, in part, as a place-based dominion that allowed for greater movement, expression, and association. In other words, territorial control was fundamental for runaway slaves and freed blacks in ensuring the civil liberties the had been legally denied under bondage. The association of liberty with territorial control was evidenced by plantation slaves' development of "the sense of having rights" to the garden plots they cultivated on their masters' land for their subsistence and trade.[1106] Indeed, historian Walter Fraga has shown that struggles to obtain access to roças in the Bahian Recôncavo under slavery continued to shape rural Afro-Brazilians' expectations of freedom during the post-emancipation period.[1107]

Similarly, in the Vale do Ribeira, the descendants of quilombos view access to roças as a necessary condition of freedom. In 1996, Isaías Nascimento of Quilombo Galvão lamented the unfulfilled promise of emancipation. "We were slaves for many, many years on the masters' plantations. Today, we're still slaves after abolition. We are slaves to the government, to the very administration that is charge today. The people who live out in the countryside cannot work. They have to depend on welfare from the government."[1108]

[1105] *Audiência Pública Em Eldorado*, 20.
[1106] Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slaves and Freed People in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1910*, 18. See also, B.J. Barickman, "A Bit of Land Which They Call a Roça: Slave Provision Grounds in the Bahian Recôncavo, 1780-1870," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 28, no. 3 (1994); Graden, *From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil: Bahia, 1835-1900*; Torre, "The Land Is Ours and We Are Free to Do All That We Want: Quilombos and Black Rural Protest in Amazonia, Brazil, 1917-1929."; Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*.
[1107] Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slaves and Freed People in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1910*, 19.
[1108] *Audiência Pública Em Eldorado*, 13.

Quilombola activists have invoked the historical memory of slavery to protest social exclusion in other ways. As scholars have demonstrated, masters decried what they perceived was the innate sloth of African slaves.[1109] The ideology of *vadiagem* (vagrancy), the racist belief that Afro-descendants would work only if coerced, emerged as a popular defense of slavery in Brazil amid the ferment of abolitionism during the late nineteenth century.[1110] The enactment of anti-vagrancy laws during the post-emancipation period subjected Afro-Brazilians to renewed repression as former masters fought to preserve a system of coercive labor and latifundia.[1111] Significantly, the descendants of quilombos in the Vale do Ribeira have expressed fear that environmental restrictions on farming would lead to stigmatization of Afro-descendants as "vagrants" and "bums."[1112]

Isaías Nascimento exclaimed at a town hall meeting in Eldorado in 1996, "We won't take it anymore! We have land and we want to work so that people won't say, 'these people are bums, they should be made to suffer!'"[1113] Benedita Marinho of Quilombo Ivaporunduva echoed Nascimento's concerns:

> The government always says that it wants to get children off the streets, that it will support the workers, that it will provide jobs…but then it doesn't let us work on our lands! So that means that another child will be out on the streets. Another elderly person who sees that their days are numbered. I have friends who are too ashamed to even speak to me because they cannot work anymore. We have come here today to fight for our right, the right that is being crushed, that is has been forgotten, that our government as forgotten. We are here to remind them all that we are a people who work hard.[1114]

[1109] Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988*, 48; Chalhoub, *Visões Da Liberdade: Uma História Das Últimas Décadas Da Escravidão Na Corte*, 212-48.
[1110] Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988*, 48.
[1111] Ibid.
[1112] For historical research of anti-vagrancy laws in nineteenth-century and post-emancipation Brazil, see Olívia Maria Gomes da Cunha, *Intença E Gesto: Pessoa, Cor, E a Produção Cotidiana Da (in)Diferença No Rio De Janeiro, 1927-1942* (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 2002); Thomas Holloway, *Policing Rio De Janeiro: Repression and Resistance in a Nineteenth-Century City* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993); Lúcio Kowarick, *Trabalho E Vadiagem: A Origem Do Trabalho Livre No Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1987).
[1113] *Audiência Pública Em Eldorado*, 13.
[1114] Ibid., 20.

Quilombolas have deflected stereotypes of *vadiagem* by valorizing agricultural work. José Paulo Rodrigues of Quilombo Nhunguara stated in 1996, "They call us *vagabundos* (bums), but they have to remember that we were always workers, that we have always fought to raise and educate our children. We have fought to preserve this beautiful nature that you can still find in Eldorado and the Vale do Ribeira."[1115]

In the face of seemingly insurmountable odds, quilombolas and their supporters have taken action to reclaim roças, preserve cultural traditions, and demand territorial autonomy. In 2012, quilombola activists and ISA founded Cooperquivale (The Agricultural Cooperative of Quilombola Farmers in the Vale do Ribeira), which promotes the commercialization of quilombola agricultural products through a partnership with the National Program for Food Acquisition (PAA, Programa Nacional de Aquisição de Alimentos).[1116] Bringing together 240 farmers from 16 different quilombo communities in the Vale do Ribeira, Cooperquivale has commercialized more than 80 cultivars, including cassava, bananas, rice, corn, sugarcane, yams, and honey. The fruits of quilombola roças provide healthy, nutritious foods to schools, daycares, prisons, orphanages, and hospitals throughout São Paulo, and can be found at regional markets in Cabreúva, Eldorado, Embu, Iporanga, Jandira, and Santo André.[1117] Further, in 2015, ISA and Cooperquivale inaugurated the Paiol de Sementes, a seed bank that preserves rare and nutritious varieties of staple crops exchanged by quilombolas at the annual Feira de Troca de Sementes.[1118]

[1115] Ibid., 28.
[1116] Rafaela Cristine Betim Alves, "Cooperativismo Quilombola No Vale Do Ribeira E O Desafio Da Institucionalização De Solidariedades" (Instituto Federal de Educação, Ciência e Tecnologia, 2016), 26; Instituto Socioambiental, "Puxirão Quilombola," *Boletim Puxirão Quilombola* 1, no. 1 (2015).
[1117] "Puxirão Quilombola."; Ivy Wiens, "Comunidades Quilombolas Discutem as Conquistas E Perspectivas Para as Roças Tradicionais," *Notícias Socioambientais*, https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/blog/blog-do-vale-do-ribeira/comunidades-quilombolas-discutem-as-conquistas-e-perspectivas-para-as-rocas-tradicionais?utm_medium=email&utm_source=transactional&utm_campaign=manchetes%40socioambiental.org.
[1118] "Comunidades Quilombolas Discutem as Conquistas E Perspectivas Para as Roças Tradicionais".

Finally, as part of the *Sistema Agrícola Quilombola* dossier, residents of Quilombo Morro Seco in Iguape organized a *mutirão* to reap the annual rice harvest in 2015.[1119] Known colloquially throughout the Vale do Ribeira as the *puxirão*, the mutirão is a Portuguese term that refers to the collective labor traditionally employed by rural black communities in work pertaining to roças.[1120] According to testimony provided by quilombolas, rice cultivation demands the convocation of large puxirões because, as rice begins to mature in the months of May and June, it must be harvested quickly before the advent of the rainy season.[1121] The puxirão involves the participation of the whole community throughout the day.[1122] The beneficiary of the puxirão cooks a meal for the community during the evening and hosts a dance (*baile*) that lasts until dawn.[1123] In addition to serving the economic needs of the quilombo, the puxirão nurtures social relations and bonds of friendship, exhibiting a fundamental principle of quilombola sociability: solidarity expressed through an appreciation of sharing food, tasks, and being together.[1124]

In Quilombo Morro Seco and throughout the Vale do Ribeira, the pressures of green grabbing and de-territorialization forced many families to abandon the practice of the puxirão decades ago.[1125] However, with the support of ISA, quilombolas have recuperated this cherished

[1119] Instituto Socioambiental, "Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira Retomam O Tradicional Mutirão Da Colheita De Arroz," ibid. (2015), https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/quilombolas-do-vale-do-ribeira-retomam-o-tradicional-mutirao-da-colheita-de-arroz-apos-decadas; "Mutirão Quilombola," (2016).
[1120] Andrade and Tatto, *Inventário Cultural De Quilombos Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 247-52; Arruda, *Relátorio Técnico-Científico Sobre Os Remanescentes Da Comunidade De Pedro Cubas De Cima, Município De Eldorado, Sp*, 38-40.
[1121] Socioambiental, "Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira Retomam O Tradicional Mutirão Da Colheita De Arroz".
[1122] Andrade and Tatto, *Inventário Cultural De Quilombos Do Vale Do Ribeira*, 246.
[1123] Ibid.
[1124] Ibid., 245.
[1125] Socioambiental, "Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira Retomam O Tradicional Mutirão Da Colheita De Arroz"; "Mutirão Quilombola."

tradition. In 2015, Armando Modesto Pereira, an 80-year-old farmer from Morro Seco, expressed how the return of the puxirão offered hope in challenging times.[1126]

> Something is happening here today that gives us hope, that we hope to continue for many, many years. Because this (puxirão) is an example of life, work, and education. Here we have gathered forty people to work together with the same feeling and purpose we had here seventy years ago.[1127]

Pereira's older brother, the late Bonifacio Modesto Pereira, addressed participants of the puxirão before the dance began on May 27, 2015.

> My wish is that my children continue to do this. That my grandchildren pass the puxirão onto their grandchildren. It is not only the people of Morro Seco who deserve this (the puxirão). All quilombos have the right to express themselves in this spirit of harmony, so that we may all be together someday with our hands raised, thanking God for what we did with the time we spent together. Preparing a future for our children. Thank you all so much.[1128]

In 2017, quilombola farmers in Morro Seco, São Pedro, and Pedro Cubas convened puxirões in Seu Bonifacio's memory.[1129]

4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored the greening of rural black politics in the Vale do Ribeira since the advent of Article 68. Beginning in the 1980s, the descendants of quilombos gained leverage in conflicts over resources and power in the Atlantic Forest as international environmentalist NGOs, anthropologists, and the World Bank decried the alarming pace of ecological destruction in Brazil and its disproportionate impact upon the lands and livelihoods of forest peoples. Rural

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[1126] "Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira Retomam O Tradicional Mutirão Da Colheita De Arroz"; "Mutirão Quilombola."
[1127] "Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira Retomam O Tradicional Mutirão Da Colheita De Arroz"; "Mutirão Quilombola."
[1128] "Quilombolas Do Vale Do Ribeira Retomam O Tradicional Mutirão Da Colheita De Arroz"; "Mutirão Quilombola."
[1129] Seu Bonifacio Modesto Pereira died in 2017 at the age of 92. "40 Anos Depois, O Quilombo De Pedro Cubas Resgata O Tradicional Mutirão," *Notícias Socioambientais* (2017), https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/40-anos-depois-o-quilombo-de-pedro-cubas-resgata-o-tradicional-mutirao?utm_medium=email&utm_source=transactional&utm_campaign=manchetes%40socioambiental.org.

black communities enlisted allies—the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA) and the Movement of Peoples Threatened by Dams (MOAB)—that reframed their historical struggles for legal rights and social justice in a language of *socioambientalismo* (socio-environmentalism). Using oral histories and archival collections at ISA and MOAB, I examined how quilombola activists and their supporters in the Vale do Ribeira have proposed an alternative path to development based on the sustainable use of land and forest resources, the inclusion of rivers, waterfalls, forests, and mangroves in collective land titles, and respect for traditional knowledge and spatial practices. As with their ancestors, territorial mastery and historical memories of resistance to slavery have shaped the political mobilization of maroon-descendant communities for land rights and socio-environmental justice in the Ribeira Valley. Antoninho Ursulino, a farmer from Quilombo Bombas, captured this sentiment. "We like to work in a place that is our own. Working, planting, reaping the harvest. We, like our ancestors, have preserved all of this. That's what being a quilombola is all about."[1130]

[1130] "Sistema Agrícola Quilombola."

Conclusion

On April 13, 2018, Brazil's attorney general charged Congressman Jair Bolsonaro, a far-right presidential candidate, with inciting hatred and discrimination against blacks, indigenous peoples, women, and the LGBTQ community.[1131] The charging document, signed by Attorney General Raquel Dodge, compiled a long list of incendiary remarks by Bolsonaro, a former paratrooper who has garnered popular support by attacking "political correctness" and by vowing to use military force to redress Brazil's violent crime epidemic.[1132] Dodge cited several passages from a 2017 speech that Bolsonaro gave to campaign donors in Rio de Janeiro, in which the presidential frontrunner disparaged quilombo communities in the Vale do Ribeira.[1133] Conjuring racist stereotypes of the "lazy welfare bum," Bolsonaro exclaimed:

> Wherever there is an Indian reservation, there is also [mineral] wealth underneath it. We have got to fix this. Unfortunately, today, we don't have the autonomy to fix it. And that's just the Indian reservations. Then you have the quilombolas, who are another joke. I went to a quilombola (sic) in Eldorado Paulista. Look, the skinniest Afro-descendant over there weighed only 7 *arrobas*.[1134] They don't do anything! I don't think they even manage to procreate anymore! That's $1 billion *reais* every year that are wasted on them. They are all on welfare.[1135]

If convicted, Bolsonaro could face up to three years in prison and a $117,000 fine in accordance with Brazil's anti-discrimination laws.[1136] However, because Bolsonaro is a member of Brazil's Chamber of Deputies, he enjoys privileged legal standing under which he may only be tried

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[1131] Ministério Público Federal, "Denuncia Bolsonaro Tarjado," ed. Procuradoria-Geral da República. Ernesto Londoño, "Right-Wing Presidential Contender in Brazil Is Charged with Inciting Hatred," *The New York Times*, April 14, 2018.
[1132] "Right-Wing Presidential Contender in Brazil Is Charged with Inciting Hatred."
[1133] Ibid.
[1134] *Arroba* is a unit of mass usually used in the beef trade, especially in the slaughterhouse. Attorney General Raquel Dodge wrote, "Jair Bolsonaro treated members of the quilombola community with utter disdain. He referred to them as if they were animals using the word "*arroba*." This term, completely unacceptable, is aligned with the regime of slavery, in which blacks were treated as mere merchandise, and reinforces the notion of inequality between human beings, which is absolutely refuted by the Brazilian Constitution and by all the treaties and international conventions of which Brazil is a signatory." Federal, "Denuncia Bolsonaro Tarjado," 5.
[1135] Ibid., 2-3.
[1136] Londoño, "Right-Wing Presidential Contender in Brazil Is Charged with Inciting Hatred."

before the Supreme Court. The court has a large backlog of cases involving elected officials and it is unlikely that the matter will be resolved before the October 2018 election.[1137]

As my dissertation has shown, Bolsonaro's racist comments about quilombos follow a historical pattern of persecution of fugitive slaves and their descendants in Brazil. I have argued that colonial authorities and large landowners saw quilombos as a threat to the dominant order for many reasons, including their subsistence-based strategies, just as their descendants are scorned as impediments to agribusiness today. Elites further demonized maroon communities because they often provided sanctuary for fugitives from Brazil's system of land concentration and coercive labor, including freed blacks, Indians, vagrants, criminals, and military deserters. Following emancipation, prominent intellectuals such as Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, pathologized the Quilombo dos Palmares as a source of Brazil's "racial degeneracy" and underdevelopment. Moreover, under the dictatorial regime of Getúlio Vargas, in which the notion of "racial mixture" (*mestiçagem*) would become a quasi-official state ideology, conservative ideologues branded quilombos and their descendants as racial separatists and troublemakers. Opponents of Article 68, which include conservative politicians, large landowners, and developers, have decried the assault on private property and the nations harmonious reputation as a "racial democracy."

Of course, neither quilombos nor their descendants brooked universal hostility in Brazilian society. Under slavery, maroons forged dynamic links with an array of social groups. Likewise, the descendants of quilombos have made strategic alliances with sectors of dominant society—the Liberationist Catholic Church, anthropologists, attorneys, urban black activists, and environmentalist NGOs—demonstrating their fundamentally adaptive capacities as historical

[1137] Ibid.

actors. Outsiders' affinity for quilombos stemmed from various sources, whether as symbols of resistance to white supremacy and capitalism, or as practitioners of low-impact subsistence agriculture. These alliances contributed to the passage of the first legislation in Brazil that accorded race-based rights to Afro-Brazilians, no small accomplishment in a society that long denied the existence of racism. In this sense, I have argued that the controversies surrounding Article 68 reflect longstanding battles over land, power, and racial entitlement in Brazilian society.

In addition to exploring battles over the cultural reproduction and representation of quilombos and their descendants, "Avengers of Zumbi" has traced the larger arc of claims-making, historical memory, and territorial mastery by quilombos to explain their contemporary political mobilization. Using oral histories and archival research, I argue that post-emancipation communities residing in São Paulo's Vale do Ribeira drew on history, ecology, and the law to challenge their territorial dispossession decades prior to the enactment of the Quilombo Law. My analysis of the grassroots activism of maroon descendants has both historiographical and political implications. By emphasizing Afro-descendants' long-standing tradition of engaging with the state and of transmitting historical struggles across generations, I demonstrate a historical agency that is often overlooked. Further, I challenge the allegations of Article 68's opponents, who have attempted to discredit quilombos by dismissing their territorial claims as the fabrication of outside agitators. Although the legal frameworks may have been supplied to these communities by outsiders, the narratives they channeled had been transmitted for generations.

In concluding, I wish to highlight recent developments in the struggles of rural black communities for territorial rights and socio-environmental justice in the Atlantic Forest. On

November 4, 2016, quilombolas and their supporters in the Vale do Ribeira achieved an unlikely victory. The Brazilian Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (IBAMA) "definitively tabled" the Brazilian Aluminum Company (CBA)-Votorantim proposal to construct the Tijuco Alto hydroelectric dam on the Ribeira de Iguape River near São Paulo's southeastern border with Paraná.[1138] Plans to construct three additional hydroelectric dams—Funil, Batatal, and Itaóca—were suspended during the 1990s. The defeat of Tijuco Alto, which had long threatened the lands and livelihoods of quilombolas, small farmers, ribeirinhos, and caiçaras, marked the culmination of a popular struggle spanning three decades. Rural activists fought CBA and Votorantim in town hall meetings, the courtroom, and in the streets. In 2007, quilombolas, MOAB activists, and hundreds of supporters marched on the BR-116 Highway, blocking traffic to the Vale do Ribeira from São Paulo and Curitiba. In 2008, MOAB activists occupied IBAMA's São Paulo headquarters. IBAMA's press release explained that grassroots resistance was a decisive factor in canceling the project. IBAMA officials wrote in 2016:

> In addition, it is important to note that the Tijuco Alto licensing process received popular pressure against the implementation of the project, with dozens of letters of repudiation and recommendations from various social entities and the Attorney General's office. These protests mainly addressed the socio-environmental relevance of the area potentially affected by the project, as well as the historical presence of traditional quilombola communities that would ultimately be affected by the dam.[1139]

Quilombolas and their supporters celebrated IBAMA's decision. "This is the greatest victory we've had, a victory that belongs not only to the communities but also to the people who have fought alongside us, the NGOs," said Chico Salles Coutinho of Quilombo Mandira in

[1138] Instituto Socioambiental, "População Do Vale Do Ribeira Está Livre De Tijuco Alto," *Notícias Socioambientais*.
[1139] Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e dos Recursos Naturais Renováveis (IBAMA), "Indeferimento Do Pedido De Licença Prévia Para a Uhe Tijuco Alto- Processo 02001.001172/2004-58," ed. Instituto Brasileilro do Meio Ambiente e dos Recursos Naturais Renováveis (IBAMA) (2016), 3.

2016.[1140] "We have won every battle. It took a long time, but we won." Sr. Maria Sueli Berlanga added, "For once in its life, IBAMA had the courage to make the right the decision after hearing our cry for 28 years. I hope that IBAMA will also suspend other projects that threaten the Vale do Ribeira like mining and small hydroelectric centers. Let us hope they make the right choice."[1141]

While savoring their victory, quilombolas warned of looming threats on the horizon: cattle ranching, monoculture, environmental restrictions on farming, and mining. "The termination of the licensing process offers the best opportunity for us to reflect on our projects, our rivers, and our communities," said Osvaldo dos Santos, coordinator of the Quilombola Farmers' Cooperative in the Vale do Ribeira (Cooperquivale) and a resident of Quilombo Porto Velho.[1142] "The fight can never stop, the resistance must continue. The Vale do Ribeira is a place of resistance, both against dams and against mining. Our strength is the strength of partnership. The resistance shows that we are ready for the fight and that we cannot take our eyes off the other threats."[1143]

Benedito "Ditão" Alves da Silva, a resident of Quilombo Ivaporunduva and a leader of the anti-dam campaign since 1989, predicted more difficult days ahead. "This is a victory, but at the same time, I am afraid that this is a coup. IBAMA canceled Tijuco Alto, but it also allowed other enterprises, including mining," Silva explained. "It was all worth it because they heard our voices, our sit-ins, and our protests. They also saw the repression of the police. Without struggle,

[1140] Socioambiental, "População Do Vale Do Ribeira Está Livre De Tijuco Alto".
[1141] Ibid.
[1142] Ibid.
[1143] Ibid.

there is no victory."[1144] For Silva and the quilombolas of the Vale do Ribeira, the struggle continues.

[1144] Ibid.

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